

Israelis Block 3 Main Routes In Occupied South Lebanon

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
SIDON, Lebanon — Israeli forces closed all roads from northern Lebanon into occupied southern Lebanon with barbed wire Friday as protests, which started yesterday in the southern port city of Sidon, spread throughout the country.

Near Tyre, gunmen hid in an orange grove fired on an Israeli convoy. United Nations troops said a UN convoy was hit in the cross fire, the sources said. There were no casualties.

Israeli officers said that the three li River crossing points — at Awali Bridge on the coast, at Bridge 15 kilometers (about 10 miles) inland and at Niha in Chuf hills — would be removed to vehicles and pedestrians today. They gave no explanation for the action.

The Awali River is Israel's northern defense line in Lebanon since Israeli forces withdrew from the Beirut area.

The closure of the bridges followed a marked escalation in anti-Israeli resistance activity in the h and a general strike against occupation in Sidon.

Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzani of Lebanon deplored the closure of the bridges and asked Foreign Minister Elie Salem to send notes of protest to international bodies, including the United Nations, according to Beirut radio.

Muslim leaders arranged more anti-Israeli protests in Sidon's mosques on Friday while their colleagues in Beirut staged mosque sit-ins in solidarity with the southerners.

In Sidon, Israeli troops with guard dogs entered a mosque and herded out worshippers to conduct a search, according to state radio and local reporters.

Mr. Wazzani, who joined demonstrators in a mosque in Beirut, called the incident an "intolerable violation of religious immunity" and told Mr. Salem to lodge a protest with the United Nations, the Lebanese state radio reported.

Local politicians told Reuters on Thursday that the Israelis were holding about 125 people from Sidon, including two Muslim clerics apparently suspected of encouraging the resistance.

An Israeli military spokesman confirmed the arrests but declined to give details.

Muslims in the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli also joined in the protest, and hundreds of worshippers flocked to the mosques to stage sit-ins.

Former Prime Minister Rashid Karami, Tripoli's leading politician, participated in a sit-in at one of the city's mosques.

Reuters reported that fighting broke out Friday between pro-Syrian and anti-Syrian militias in Tripoli and quoted security sources as saying that one pedestrian had been wounded in the exchange.

The security sources said that automatic weapons were used in the two-hour clash. It was not clear what started the fighting.

Many sectors in Tripoli are controlled by local militias, and the city's leaders are trying to work out a security plan that calls for the disarming of the militias and the takeover of police duties by Lebanese security forces.

Lebanon's state radio reported that shells and mortars fell on a Lebanese Army base and Christian residential neighborhoods east of Beirut for about a half-hour at mid-afternoon Friday.

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Reuters, UPI, AP

Druze Reiterate Opposition

The Progressive Socialist Party of the Druze leader Walid Jumblat said Friday that it would continue its fight against the government of President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon. Reuters reported from Damascus.

A party statement said that the prospect that interim security agreements might be signed did not mean that a political solution to the Lebanese conflict had been reached.

The statement appeared to be referring to efforts by a Saudi mediator to secure an agreement between rival forces around Beirut.

"We affirm that the PSP will continue fighting against the policies of Amin Gemayel" and his rightist Christian Phalange Party, the statement said.

"We want to see a general political solution for Lebanon," it added, criticizing Lebanese government policies, including censorship of the Beirut press.



AFTER ATTACKS — Israeli soldiers patrolling Friday in the West Bank town of Hebron, where two mosques had been attacked. Jewish extremists claimed the explosions. Page 2.

O'Neill Rethinking Stance on Beirut

By Philip Taubman
New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., is reconsidering his support for the 18-month limit that Congress set for the Marine deployment in Beirut, an aide to the Massachusetts Democrat says.

While declining to comment in person, Mr. O'Neill authorized the aide to say Thursday, "It would be fair to say the speaker now thinks a six-month limit would be much wiser."

Mr. O'Neill's reassessment, coupled with remarks this week by the leader of the House's Republican minority, Robert H. Michel of Illinois, appeared to reflect a shift in Congressional sentiment away from Reagan administration policy in Lebanon.

Other Democratic and Republican legislative leaders, including several who have supported administration policy in Lebanon, suggested Thursday that Congress would move to force a change in the Marine mission in Beirut if President Ronald Reagan did not do so by the end of January.

Mr. O'Neill scheduled a meeting of Democratic leaders Tuesday to discuss U.S. policy in Lebanon and pending proposals that would require the administration to pull out the Marines before the end of the 18-month period, which began in October. Congress is scheduled to reconvene Jan. 23.

The shift in congressional sentiment appeared to be strengthened by the publication Wednesday of a Defense Department report that questioned U.S. policy in Lebanon.

A special Pentagon commission that investigated the Oct. 23 bombing that killed 241 servicemen at a Beirut barracks, released its report that U.S. policy in Lebanon was weighed too heavily toward military action. The report recommended "a more vigorous and demanding approach to pursuing diplomatic alternatives."

Mr. Michel, in a speech Tuesday in Peoria, Illinois, called for a change in U.S. tactics in Lebanon, urging the administration to withdraw the Marines. Mr. Michel had been a strong supporter of administration policy.

He asked, "Should we not consider removing American Marines from Lebanon, keeping our fleet offshore and leaving it to Israel, as our strategic partner, to work out in ways it might choose, a solution to the Lebanon problem?"

William V. Roth Jr., Republican of Delaware and chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, said Thursday, "The president showed great courage in sending the Marines into what everyone knew at the time would be a difficult assignment. The president should now show that same courage by admitting that this course of action has failed."

Dante B. Fascell, Democrat of Florida and the acting chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said Thursday, "The issue of American policy in Lebanon, particularly the deployment of Marines, is going to be a top priority matter as soon as we get back."

Mr. Fascell added, "Having a military commission raise concerns about the policy is important and accentuates the doubts that were already in the mill."

Mr. Reagan and Congress compromised on the duration of U.S. involvement in the multinational peacekeeping force in Lebanon, setting an 18-month limit, effective from the signing of the bill Oct. 12.

Since then, the security situation in Lebanon has steadily deteriorated, including the truck bombing of the Marine complex.

Mr. O'Neill, according to his aide, has concluded that the administration seriously misread the situation in Lebanon when it asked Congress in September to support an extended stay by the Marines.

Other members of Congress agreed. "We cannot expect to be at the same time an umpire and a player," Mr. Michel said Tuesday.

The Pentagon commission that investigated the truck bombing came to a similar conclusion. Its report said, "The commission believes there was a fundamental conflict between the peacekeeping mission provided through the chain of command to the Marines and the increasingly active role the United States was taking in support of the Lebanese armed forces."

Censures Possible

Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger has directed the Pentagon to study ways of implementing recommendations of the Defense Department's report, including possible disciplinary action. The Washington Post reported.

President Reagan on Tuesday ruled out courts-martial for any officers found to have acted improperly before the truck bombing in Beirut. Officials said Thursday, however, that officers may still be censured in ways that could harm their careers.

The Pentagon report, in addition to criticizing policy in Lebanon, found fault with several officers in the chain of command.

Shultz to Meet Gromyko for Talks on Arms

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The United States and the Soviet Union will resume high-level talks Jan. 18 in Stockholm, the State Department said Friday.

Department officials said they expected the discussions to include arms control and all other outstanding issues.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko have agreed to meet that day while they are in the Swedish capital for the first round of a security and disarmament conference, according to Alan D. Romberg, a department spokesman.

This will provide the two governments the first opportunity at policy-making levels to discuss the differences that have chilled their relations.

In Palm Springs, California, where President Ronald Reagan is on vacation, Larry M. Speakes, the White House spokesman, said that the president, of course, is pleased that this meeting has been arranged.

"We do regard it as a positive element in the sense that it will continue the dialogue," he said.

There was no immediate statement from the Soviet Union.

State Department officials said that the Americans intended to use the meeting between Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko to reopen discussions on all major issues that have essentially been shelved in recent months.

The most pressing question, and the one that will be of most interest to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies who also will be in Stockholm, is to see if it will be possible to agree on dates for resuming negotiations on the various arms control issues that have been either suspended or in recess without a fixed date to return.

These include the negotiations in Geneva on medium-range missiles from which the Soviet side walked out in November after NATO began to deploy new U.S. missiles.

The negotiations on reducing strategic arms recessed in early December with the Soviet side saying it had to review the situation in light of the deployment before agreeing to any new date for talks.

The negotiations between East and West on conventional forces in Europe similarly adjourned with no date set for resumption.

The intention on the U.S. side is for the Stockholm meeting to revive the dialogue that was effectively broken off in September when a Soviet fighter shot down a South Korean airliner. Because of that incident, Soviet-U.S. discussions that were beginning to show some results, particularly in improving trade, renewing a cultural exchange agreement and exchanging consulates, were again frozen.

Maneuvering Foreseen

The West German government anticipates that the Soviet Union may try to sow new divisions within the Western alliance by advocating nuclear-free zones at the disarmament conference, William Drozdenko, a State Department spokesman, said.

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Arabs, Jews in Israel: Uphill Détente

Personal-Contact Projects Aim to Chip Away Prejudice

By David K. Shipler
New York Times Service
JERUSALEM — On the sixth night of Hanukkah, about 150 Jews and Arabs gathered in a building at the Hebrew University for the lighting of candles and the singing of the Jewish prayer. The Jews then sang Hebrew songs; the Arabs watched and listened respectfully.

It was a rare moment of concord in the broad sweep of Arab-Jewish conflict, a fleeting symbol of the increasing effort being made in Israel by small organizations of Jews and Arabs to struggle against the tide of hatred and suspicion.

The group assembled between classes at the Marian Butler Institute for Adult Education, where the Jews were studying Arabic and the Arabs were studying Hebrew. The Jews came mostly out of an idealistic attitude that one should know the language of one's neighbor; the Arabs out of a pragmatic conviction that one should speak the language of one's ruler.

But language is just the drawing card at the center. The main idea is to get Arabs and Jews together "to give them an opportunity to break down the stereotypes that both have of each other," according to Sister Rose Theresa, a Roman Catholic nun who helps run the program.

This is one of the older programs, dating from the end of the 1960s. Other efforts have emerged more recently, usually initiated by liberal-minded or politically leftist Jews who deny anti-Arab prejudice in their society.

The 1983 invasion of Lebanon has had some impact. The painful divisiveness over the morality of the war seems to have stimulated at least a tentative new interest among some Jews in reaching out for human contact and understanding with Arabs.

The close fighting through refugee camps and civilian neighborhoods, the siege and bombardment of West Beirut and the massacre of Palestinians by Israeli Lebanese Christian allies left some sensitive Israeli Jews troubled by how faceless the Arabs had become to them.

Khalil Samara, the principal of an elementary and junior high school in the Arab village of Tamra, reported an improved atmosphere among his Jewish neighbors in the eight-story building where he and one other Arab family live in the nearby city of Acre.

He was demolishing a wall in his apartment, he said, and carrying out the debris, when a Jewish neighbor came down and said, "I'm going to help."

"This was the first time I ever saw a Jew willing to physically help an Arab," Mr. Samara remarked. "I said, 'David, I request that you don't.' But he said, 'I insist.' That was a real change."

Some Arabs sense their images of Israeli Jews growing more refined. Abed Samara, a sociologist at An Najah University on the occupied West Bank, noted that the estimated 400,000 Jews who protested the massacre displayed a variety of political opinion that had not been obvious to many Arabs.

"First we said all Jews are the same," he said. "Then we differentiated between Jews and Israelis and said all Israelis are the same. Then slowly we realized that there are many different political views among Israelis."

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Adept Soviet Envoys Gain Influence at UN

By Richard Bernstein
New York Times Service
UNITED NATIONS, New York — A common sight in the corridors and lounges here is of an impeccably dressed Communist diplomat speaking perfect English who moves from group to group of delegates, clasping hands, smiling, joking and shaking his head in what appears to be good-humored despair about the latest foreign policy pronouncement of the Reagan administration.

The diplomat is Oleg A. Troyanovsky, the head of the Soviet mission to the United Nations, and, by most accounts, one of the most skillful and knowledgeable delegates in the 158-nation world body.

Mr. Troyanovsky, who heads the largest diplomatic mission to the United Nations, represents a development commonly noted by UN diplomats and officials. It is that the Soviet Union, weak and isolated in the first decade or so of the United Nations' existence, has over the years made adept use of the world body and become, arguably, its single most powerful and influential member.

"The Russians are very skillful here," a Western diplomat said. "They have taken the UN very seriously and pursued a long-range strategy. They send dozens of specialists in multilateral diplomacy here; they collect information; they cultivate the Third World; they know all of the procedures and mechanisms extremely well and they use that knowledge to shape the agenda to suit their purposes."

A senior UN official said that over the years Soviet diplomats have become more sophisticated.

"I've seen it in such things as the cut of their pants," the official said. "Years ago, you could always tell a Russian by his wide, untidy trousers; now, the Soviets are indistinguishable from Western diplomats."

To be sure, the Soviet Union does not win every vote or every battle at the United Nations. Each year, for example, the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, calls for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In September, after Soviet fighter planes shot down a Korean Air Lines passenger plane, Mr. Troyanovsky vetoed a resolution condemning the act in the Security Council.

Delegates also say that in some areas, the Russians play a very minor role. One is the General Assembly's Second Committee, dealing with economic relations between industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

"In the Second Committee," a Western diplomat said, "the Soviets are out much of a factor."

Nonetheless, while far from dominating all aspects of the United Nations, the Soviet Union by all accounts enjoys great strength. Its main accomplishment, delegates say, has been to help shape an agenda that, by and large, is unfriendly to Western values and interests.

There are what might be called the bedrock political issues — Palestinian rights, harsh criticism of Israel and South Africa, and the transfer of wealth from the industrialized nations of the West and Japan to the Third World — on which the Russians not only vote with large majorities but have also played a major role in shaping the language of resolutions and the concepts used in debates.

Delegates and UN officials give several reasons for the Soviet Union's relative success. One important element is that, unlike the United States, the Soviet Union can count on virtually complete support from a group of 20 or so other countries, from Eastern bloc states like Bulgaria and Po-



Oleg A. Troyanovsky, chief of the Soviet UN mission.

land to such countries as Vietnam, Angola, Cuba and Nicaragua.

At the same time, diplomats say, the Russians have been skillful in identifying issues of concern to the countries of the Third World, which, organized into the 101-member Nonaligned Movement, constitute a large UN majority. Some delegates, particularly from the West, say that the Russians, operating through their allies in the Third World, have been successful in encouraging industrialized nations of the West and Japan to the Third World — on which the Russians not only vote with large majorities but have also played a major role in shaping the language of resolutions and the concepts used in debates.

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Ivory Coast Running Out of Power

By Clifford D. May
New York Times Service
ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — West Africa's only ice-skating rink has melted.

In the tall modern office buildings here, executives gaze out windows that do not open through eyes blurred with perspiration. Every evening, well-heeled Europeans and locals dine by candlelight in elegant restaurants, then go home and read by candlelight as well.

About two weeks ago, the Ivory Coast began to run out of power. Hydroelectricity is the source of 92 percent of the country's energy. Lack of sufficient rain has caused the water level in the dams to sink steadily, so that now there is not enough to run many of the turbines.

At first, the blackouts were brief, two or three hours a day in one neighborhood or another, and few people worried much about it. But in recent days, the power cuts have grown longer and more frequent. Some neighborhoods are now without electricity for up to 17 hours a day, with no power whatever in daylight hours. Industrial capacity has been reduced by an estimated 35 percent. Tons of food have spoiled. Whole neighborhoods have had to do without water when the electricity for the pumps was cut.

Some businessmen have stopped going to their offices, afraid of getting stuck in the elevators or unwilling to spend the day in an office that can become as hot and damp as a steam bath.

"For years, I had gone from my air-conditioned villa to my air-conditioned car to my air-conditioned office," said one businessman. "I never realized just how hot it really is here."

Power shortages are by no means a novelty in the region. In Accra, the capital of Ghana, electricity is now supplied only on alternate days. In Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, blackouts are an accepted part of life and every factory, business and home that can afford it has a diesel generator ready to switch on when the lights go out.

But unlike Ghana and Nigeria, the Ivory Coast has long been known as the showcase of Africa, a modern nation where bureaucrats think ahead and where work gets done. This time, however, the rule has been broken, and that appears to be causing a crisis of confidence as well.

"Water levels in a dam don't just drop overnight," said an energy expert. "This can't have come as a surprise."

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who has run the Ivory Coast with efficiency and dynamism since it became independent from France 23 years ago, has yet to acknowledge publicly that there is a problem or to assure the population that he is handling it.

The director of the electricity authority, Konan Lambert, has acknowledged that the energy shortage is "catastrophic," but he explained the lack of planning only by saying that "we had chosen the optimistic thesis."

Commented one Ivory Coast businessman: "I guess that means they were hoping for a monsoon during the dry season."

Failing that, the likely solution is for the country to buy turbines that run on fossil fuels.

According to businessmen and diplomats here, there are four such General Electric turbines now sitting on flatcars in Schenectady, New York. GE's headquarters city. They could be delivered within three weeks and the Export-Import Bank in Washington would provide up to 85 percent of the financing.

According to these same sources, however, France, which retains a strong influence in its former colony, is pressing the Ivory Coast to buy French turbines, even if that means waiting longer for them. The estimated cost of the needed turbines is \$20 million.

In the meanwhile, for many hours each day computer screens go dark, electric typewriters stop humming, refrigerators grow warm, ovens grow cool and dentists hang up their drills.

Last week there were long lines of people waiting outside showrooms to buy small diesel generators. Those lines have since disappeared because the generators have sold out. In any case, there is now a shortage of diesel fuel as well.

Serious as the situation is, it could still become worse. The water level in the dams is continuing to drop, and the rainy season does not normally begin until March or April.

2 West Bank Mosques Are Attacked; Jewish Extremists Issue Claim

Compiled by Our Staff From Day After

TEL AVIV — One person was injured Friday in hand grenade attacks on two mosques in the West Bank city of Hebron.

A Jewish extremist group calling itself Terror Against Terror claimed responsibility for the bombings in calls to two Israeli radio stations.

That group has claimed several attacks against Moslem places of worship since five persons were killed and 42 injured Dec. 6 when a bomb exploded on a Jerusalem bus. Responsibility for that attack was claimed by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Passengers prevented another bomb explosion on a Jerusalem bus Friday when they saw a suspicious package as the vehicle traveled through the Mahaneh Yehuda market in the Jewish sector, the police said.

The authorities found a bomb in the package and dismantled it. In the first mosque attack in Hebron, a hand grenade was apparently activated when a worshipper opened the gates to the Sheikh Rashid Mosque in the central market area, the police said. The worshipper was slightly injured, the authorities said.

The second grenade, at the Sheikh Ali Mosque, apparently went off by itself. It caused no casualties, they said.

A police spokesman, David Cohen, said the grenades were of the type used by the Israeli Army. He said the same type had been used in attacks on several Christian and Moslem institutions in the Jerusalem area earlier this month.

A Moslem cleric and a Christian nun were injured in those attacks, for which Terror Against Terror also claimed responsibility.

Mr. Cohen said reinforced police and army details were pulling the town to prevent unrest. Visitors to the area said that checks were being made on travelers and vehicles.

cles, especially around Moslem and Christian religious sites.

In another development Friday concerning the West Bank, the police claimed a breakthrough in the investigation of the fatal shooting of an Arab girl Dec. 8 in Nablus.

The authorities blamed the attack on a Jew or Jews pursuing Arabs who had thrown rocks at their car. Yossi Arnon of the West Bank settlement of Elon Moreh and Pinhas Hahrawi of Tel Aviv were brought to a magistrate's court in Rehovot on Friday for consideration of charges relating to the murder.

In a separate development on Friday, the Israeli cabinet met in special session in Jerusalem to discuss plans that call for cuts in government spending and a 10-percent tax on luxury goods.

Newspaper reports said Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad was seeking to cut about 4.5 percent from the 1983-84 budget of \$21 billion, and slightly less from the 1984-85 budget.

The reports also said that Mr. Cohen-Orgad wanted to impose heavy duties on luxury goods and to do away with free high school education.

The cabinet session came as the Central Statistics Bureau announced that Israel's trade deficit in 1983 was \$5.1 billion and the gross national product had risen by less than 1 percent. Private consumption, meanwhile, rose about 7 percent.

Annual inflation for 1983 is expected to reach 200 percent. The foreign debt stands at \$23 billion.

Mr. Cohen-Orgad also said at the meeting that the austerity measures he is contemplating may include curtailing construction of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It was the first time the cabinet has considered slashing funds for construction of settlements. (AP, NYT, UPI)

CHECKPOINT



CHECKPOINT — A jeep entering the American zone in Beirut, which has been reinforced since the Marine headquarters was blown up in October. An Islamic group has warned that if U.S. and French forces are not out by Jan. 1, "there will be earthquakes."

Iran Begins Reconnaissance Flights Over U.S. Ships in the Gulf Region

By Fred Hiatt

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Iran has begun reconnaissance flights over U.S. ships in and near the Gulf, Reagan administration officials say.

The officials said that the flights could be a precursor to stepped-up military action in the Iran-Iraq war.

The administration officials said Thursday that Iran had stationed about 20 U.S.-built F-4 fighter jets at Bandar Abbas, at the mouth of the Gulf, and had flown missions in P-3 reconnaissance planes.

"This is the first time we've seen our ships," a U.S. official said. "It could be a prelude to some military action, perhaps toward Iraq, per-

haps toward closing the Strait of Hormuz."

Another official said that U.S. ships were taking precautions against possible suicide attacks by the planes based at Bandar Abbas. But the official said there had been no specific threats, and a Pentagon official said new developments were "probably intended more to Iran than to us."

The U.S. Navy has five ships in the Gulf, including two destroyers, and 10 ships in the northern Arabian Sea, including the carrier Ranger. The Reagan administration has pledged to keep open the Strait of Hormuz, through which oil tankers pass between the Gulf and the Arabian Sea.

Iran and Iraq have been fighting since September 1980. Both sides have suffered heavy casualties but

made little progress. Iraq has threatened to escalate what has become a war of attrition.

The export to Iraq of five French jets capable of firing highly accurate Exocet missiles has added to speculation that Iraq might attack Iranian oil facilities or ships approaching those facilities. Iran, it is feared, might retaliate by mining the straits.

■ Iraq Says It Downs 2 Planes

Iraq said Friday that it had shot down two Iranian warplanes after an air battle over their southern front, near the Iranian city of Abvaz, United Press International reported from Beirut.

The state-run Iraqi press agency said the Iranian aircraft were intercepted before crossing into Iraq. There was no immediate comment from Iran.

Africans Ask U.S. to Stay In UNESCO

50 Nations Say Pullout Would Weaken Agency

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Fifty African nations appealed Friday to the United States to reconsider its decision to pull out of UNESCO by the end of 1984 because the withdrawal would "undermine" the agency.

"We hope the United States will reconsider this decision so as to maintain the principle of universality, which is the very foundation of the whole UN system," said a statement signed by Jean Ping of Gabon, the chairman of the group of 50 African nations at the Paris-based United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Mr. Ping said UNESCO members from Asia, Latin America and the Arab world were likely to make similar appeals early in January.

The Reagan administration announced Thursday that the United States would pull out of the UN agency by Jan. 1, 1985, citing an anti-Western bias and efforts to curb press freedom as reasons for the withdrawal.

Mr. Ping rejected U.S. allegations of Third World political manipulation in UNESCO, saying no decisions were made without a consensus of the 162 member countries.

"The most important thing to bear in mind here," he said, "is that America itself has always said no nation should be excluded from the UN or any of its agencies in keeping with the principle of universality."

By pulling out, they will be undermining this principle in reverse."

UNESCO issued a statement in Paris where it is based, saying that the director-general, Amadou Mahtar Mbow, was studying a communication by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, informing the agency of the U.S. intention to withdraw.

No other country has followed Washington's lead. New Zealand's foreign affairs minister, Warren Cooper, said Thursday his country would reconsider its participation in UNESCO at the next cabinet meeting, probably at the end of January.

The French government called on the United States to reconsider, saying it "deeply regrets" the move. The Paris daily Le Monde said in an editorial Friday that "the confrontation between the United States and UNESCO very much resembles a boxing match opposing the American Reagan against the Senegalese Mbow. A match that opposes two totally divergent conceptions of the role of this international organization."

The governments of Britain, Canada, West Germany and Japan said they shared U.S. concerns about the politicization of UNESCO but would remain members and urged President Ronald Reagan to reconsider. Indonesia expressed "regret" but said Washington had "the right" to make the decision, Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said Friday.

Other countries were angry about the decision.

Spain accused Washington of throwing a "tantrum." The decision "is not going to produce any wave of pullouts," said Luis Ramallo, the head of UNESCO's Spanish committee. "It is an attitude of an infantile tantrum."

The Soviet Union denounced the decision, calling it an attempt by the United States to be the world's "self-styled ruler."

Jordan criticized the U.S. decision to withdraw and urged U.S. officials to reconsider. Jordan's three leading dailies said Friday.

A U.S. withdrawal would bring a budgetary crisis and sweeping cuts in the UN body's programs, diplomats quoted by Reuters predicted Friday. The United States contributes a quarter of the agency's budget.

In the mid-1970s, the United States withheld its contributions to UNESCO for a period after Israel came under attack within the organization. UNESCO managed to overcome the two-year crisis with interest-free loans from Arab states, but this option may be more difficult to follow now.

Diplomats said it would be up to Mr. Mbow to propose spending cuts and that they would probably affect programs rather than Paris staff.

(UPI, Reuters, AP)

WORLD BRIEFS

Garrison in El Salvador Is Attacked

SAN SALVADOR (UPI) — Leftist guerrillas captured an infantry garrison Friday in an attack on El Salvador's two main northern garrisons, according to the guerrilla radio. There were reports later that the garrison had been recaptured by government forces.

"For the first time in the war, our forces have taken the garrison of an infantry brigade," the guerrillas' Radio Farabundo Martí said. "The garrison of the 4th Infantry Brigade has fallen into our hands."

A diplomat also reported the capture of the garrison in the hamlet of F. Paraiso, 30 miles (48 kilometers) north of San Salvador, but said that the army retook the facility in the afternoon. "It's not clear if the army expelled the guerrillas or if they withdrew," said the diplomat, who asked not to be identified.

Jackson to Meet Assad in Damascus

DAMASCUS (UPI) — The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, will meet with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria on Saturday to ask the release of a captured U.S. airman, Robert O. Goodman Jr., U.S. diplomats said Friday.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Damascus said that the Syrian government had said Mr. Jackson would be able to see Mr. Assad — who reportedly has had heart trouble recently — after meeting with Syria's foreign minister, Abdel-Halim Khaddam.

"We would hope that the force of these meetings will allow us to break the deadlock and make a giant step toward peace," said Mr. Jackson, who arrived here Friday with a delegation of religious leaders to urge the release of Lieutenant Goodman. The airman's plane was shot down by Syrian forces over Lebanon on Dec. 4 during a U.S. bombing raid against Syrian positions.

China Hints at Restoring Dutch Ties

BEIJING (LAT) — China signaled its readiness Friday to forgive the Netherlands for selling two submarines to Taiwan three years ago and to discuss the re-establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Dutch.

The move follows the Dutch government's refusal to sell Taiwan two more submarines in return for a promised \$500-million shipbuilding contract and an undertaking to purchase hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Dutch goods. A strong minority in the Dutch parliament favored the sale because of the 1,600 jobs involved.

Beijing believes that, with the rejection of the sales by the Netherlands, it has won a major diplomatic contest against Taiwan. A commentary in the Chinese Communist Party newspaper People's Daily said that the Dutch government's refusal would help restore ties between the countries, downgraded in 1981.

Honecker Advocates East-West Pact

BERLIN (Reuters) — East Germany's head of state and Communist Party leader, Erich Honecker, has called for an accord between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on the renunciation of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

In a New Year's address, published by the official ADN press agency, he said that, with the stationing of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe, the world had entered the "probably most dangerous period of postwar development."

East Germany will be taking part in January's conference on European security and disarmament in Stockholm "with the firm intention" to do its best for a reduction of military confrontation, for the development of confidence and security-building measures and for disarmament, he said.

Pretoria Said to Resist Namibia Plan

UNITED NATIONS, New York (UPI) — South Africa has refused to announce a voting system for independence elections in South-West Africa, also known as Namibia, and still insists on linking the issue to the withdrawal of an estimated 25,000 Cuban troops from neighboring Angola, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar said Friday.

In a report to the UN Security Council, which has called on Pretoria to allow a UN plan for independence of the territory to be implemented, Mr. Pérez de Cuellar said that the South Africans had informed him that the electoral system for Namibia "is of no great importance" and "should not cause unnecessary problems."

On Thursday, South African planes bombed suspected guerrilla bases inside Angola.

Zimbabwe Bishops Support Socialism

HARARE, Zimbabwe (Reuters) — Zimbabwe's Catholic bishops Friday pledged support for the socialist policies of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government and appealed to Christians to help the changing society.

In a New Year's pastoral statement, they said Zimbabwe's socialism meant equality among all people regardless of race, creed or sex, an equitable distribution of resources and promotion of self-reliance and national reconciliation.

But they criticized leaders, many of whom were educated at mission schools, for only paying lip service to socialism.

Judge Blocks Release of Nixon Papers

WASHINGTON (AP) — A federal trial judge on Friday blocked the public release, scheduled to begin Tuesday, of 1.5 million White House documents left behind when President Richard M. Nixon resigned in 1974.

District Judge Thomas Hogan struck down as unconstitutional part of the law allowing public access to the papers, which include some of the Nixon administration's most sensitive political documents. The ruling was a victory for 29 former Nixon officials, who had challenged the government's plan to release the papers.

In a brief order, to be followed by a fuller written opinion, Judge Hogan barred officials of the General Services Administration and the National Archives "from further implementing or taking any further actions pursuant to the existing public access regulations until such time as newly promulgated regulations become effective."

For the Record

The Arab Revolutionary Brigades, in a telephone call in Paris, claimed responsibility for a submarine-gun attack Thursday that killed an employee of the Jordanian Embassy in Madrid and wounded another, Agence France-Presse reported Friday. (AP)

East Germany will introduce daylight-saving time March 25, the East German news agency, ADN, said Friday. (Reuters)

Arab-Jewish Businesses Span Israeli Divide

New York Times Service

PARDES HANNA, Israel — Four years ago, Lucien Ben-Shoshan, a 37-year-old Jew, and Khalil Attamna, a 33-year-old Arab, became partners in a small enterprise manufacturing concrete building blocks. Their company became one of a scattering of Arab-Jewish businesses in Israel, blooming like wild flowers in a landscape of distrust.

Now their machinery clatters profitably on a site down a narrow road in this small Jewish town between Haifa and Tel Aviv.

There is nothing ideological about their partnership, and they do not see themselves as remarkable men. They struggle off suggestions that what they are doing is special — except that their blocks are so good, they say, that they are used for building houses everywhere, from Haifa to Eilat.

"He's a businessman, I'm a businessman — no problems," said Mr. Ben-Shoshan.

"I gain and he gains," said Mr. Attamna, who lives in the neighboring Arab village of Kfar Kara.

The enterprise, which sells about 100,000 blocks a month at the equivalent of 60 cents apiece, came into joint Arab-Jewish ownership after Mr. Ben-Shoshan's first partner had retired and the partner's son lost interest.

Another Jew wanted to buy in, but Mr. Ben-Shoshan preferred Mr. Attamna. "Khalil had a truck and would bring gravel," he said. "I asked him, maybe he wants to come in with me because I knew him, and the other guy I didn't know."

Down the road at an Arab-Jewish used car lot, Jewish customers usually ask for the Jewish partner, Moshe Gendler, and Arabs ask for the Arab partner, Sharif Attamna. He is no relation to Khalil Attamna.

"I don't think of him as a Jew

or as an Arab," said Sharif Attamna of his partner. "I just get along with him. If you offered to exchange Moshe for 50 Arabs in terms of work, I wouldn't agree, and I believe it's mutual. I can leave a whole roomful of money and come back and find the money there. I can trust him."

In the 10 years the two have been selling cars together, they have formed a close friendship, he says, so close that one night, when Mr. Gendler was in the Israeli Army and his wife had to take their daughter to the hospital, "she didn't phone her father or her sister," he said. "She phoned him at two o'clock in the morning. And he got up and took her."

Mr. Gendler thinks that the joint ownership improves business by drawing customers from both the Jewish and Arab sectors; you need to trust the man from whom you buy a used car. They sell about 90 cars a year, he said.

Arafat Arrives in Tunis For PLO Policy Review

Reuters

TUNIS — Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, arrived Friday in Tunisia for the first of a series of meetings to redefine policy after his evacuation from northern Lebanon and his meeting with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

Mr. Arafat flew in from San'a, North Yemen. He was expected to take part in a meeting of the central committee of el-Fatah, the mainstream PLO faction. Tunisia has been Mr. Arafat's headquarters since he was forced to leave Beirut under Israeli siege in September 1982.

The PLO leader met with President Mubarak in Cairo on Dec. 22 on his way to North Yemen after he and about 4,000 guerrillas loyal to him were evacuated from the Lebanese port of Tripoli, where they had been surrounded by Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels.

It was Mr. Arafat's first visit to Cairo since 1977, when Egypt began the Camp David peace process with Israel. The PLO and most of the Arab world had condemned the initiative by President Anwar Sadat.

■ Arafat Seeks Cairo Ties Earlier, Herbert H. Denton of The Washington Post reported from San'a.

Spokesmen for Mr. Arafat said in San'a that the Palestinian leader was turning his attention to efforts to rebuild the PLO around a new alliance that he is seeking with Egypt.

One of Mr. Arafat's top aides, Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, said that, despite criticism of Mr. Arafat's rapprochement with Egypt by opponents in Damascus, "Independent forces of the PLO will form a new leadership. We are against the puppets of the Syrian-Libyan regimes. Those that shot at and killed Palestinian fighters have no right to enter the PLO. They are agents of the Syrian regime."

Mr. Rahman said that Mr. Arafat also planned to call a session of the Palestine National Council, the PLO's self-styled parliament in exile. It would be called in Algiers in February "to set a new strategy for the PLO on the basis of its independence."

After arriving in North Yemen with 1,200 guerrillas and their families from Tripoli, Mr. Arafat has received PLO officials, who are still loyal to him but appear somewhat stunned by his opening to Egypt.

From Damascus, daily threats have come from Palestinian rebels and PLO figures who sat on the fence during the Tripoli battles but joined the dissidents when Mr. Arafat had his surprise meeting in Cairo with Mr. Mubarak.

Fatah dissidents in Damascus have said that they would not only work to oust Mr. Arafat but would also oppose any Arab capital deal.

3 More Die in Clashes In Bangladesh Voting

Reuters

DHAKA, Bangladesh — Three more persons were killed in fighting between supporters of rival candidates in Bangladesh's rural council elections Thursday, bringing the death toll to six, official sources said Friday.

On the fourth day of voting, the number injured in election violence rose to more than 200. Voting at 86 of the 150 polling centers has been suspended, the sources said. The latest deaths occurred at a polling station on the outskirts of Dhaka.

More Tourists in Russia

United Press International

MOSCOW — Foreign tourism was up 15 percent in 1983, and the number of Americans visiting the Soviet Union rose by nearly one-third despite attempts by "détente's enemies" to discourage tourists, the Soviet press agency Tass said Friday. More than five million people visited the Soviet Union in 1983.

Uphill Détente for Arabs and Jews in Israel

(Continued from Page 1)

lages, where they have organized exchanges with schools and other institutions in Jewish towns.

Neve Shalom, a small settlement between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv made up of Jewish and Arab families who have chosen to live together, conducts workshops in which Arab and Jewish high school students discuss their attitudes about each other.

But many working in the field are plagued by resistance or indifference to their fledgling efforts at fostering Arab-Jewish understanding.

One of the Education Ministry, neither the Israeli government nor the organized Arab Jewish fund-raising apparatus appears to have given much support.

While the government has poured millions of dollars into settling Jewish militants on the West Bank with full utilities, paved roads and housing, the mixed Arab-Jewish settlement of Neve Shalom has received virtually no public assistance. It has only a poor road drive.

Alouph Hareven of the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem has met only frustration in trying to fund a weekly, 30-minute educational television program to promote Arab-Jewish tolerance. "TV has an im-

mediate, widespread impact" he said. "My great disappointment is with the United States, both government and Jewish establishment."

The United Jewish Appeal, which sent about \$300 million to Israel last year, would not provide \$300,000 a year for the program, according to a letter from Irving Bernstein, executive vice chairman. It quoted the appeal's lawyer as saying that the educational program "is not, in my opinion, suitable for UJA involvement."

A spokesman for Stanley B. Horowitz, the United Jewish Appeal president, said in New York: "In the instance cited by Dr. Hareven we felt the program was beyond the scope of resources and our mission at the time." He said that Mr. Bernstein did try to encourage interest in the proposal "among other sources of funding."

Mr. Hareven said the U.S. Agency for International Development had also turned him down. "The United States can find billions of dollars to help military establishments in the Middle East — and I'm not speaking only of Israel," he said. "It cannot find enough millions of dollars to help an educational program that has far-reaching implications for the future."

Only the American Jewish Committee has given anything, he said, but it was too little for the program.

Interns for Peace has had mixed experiences in organizing class visits by Arab and Jewish fifth-graders and 11th-graders to each other's schools. In Kiryat Ata, a Jewish town, the fifth-grade program has been diminished this year because of the unwillingness of a teacher, whose husband is in the governing Likud bloc, to participate, according to an intern.

In another Jewish town, Pardes Hanna, a project to get Arab and Jewish youngsters together to help

build a playground failed when a businessman who financed the adjoining community center refused to allow it, according to Rabbi Bruce Cohen, director of Interns for Peace.

According to Susan Bandler, 24, of New York, a project to get Arab and Jewish teenagers together began well, but then the Jews dropped out. Two days were spent in the Arab village of Tamra and two days in Kiryat Ata, working, playing games and visiting each other's homes. But when a meeting was called to plan further activities, she said, "the Jews didn't show up."

Walid Sadik, an Arab social studies teacher in Taibe, said he had seen Jewish visits to Arab schools end in disaster. "The kids argue, and the Jews don't invite Arab kids back," he said.

Rabbi Cohen acknowledged the dangers, but explained that successful school exchanges had developed standard techniques in recent years. Joint activities have worked better than dialogue, which can degenerate into political polemics, he said.

"True, we are only building personal relationships," said Rabbi Cohen, a 38-year-old immigrant from the United States. "Yet personal relationships have been the cutting edge of history in the Middle East. We, Jews and Arabs, are all of a Bedouin culture where hospitality and welcoming one into one's tent meant the creation of a lifetime friendship and alliance in a hostile and forbidding desert."

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Adept Soviet Diplomats Gaining Influence at UN

(Continued from Page 1)

The East bloc works hard to get their people onto the key committees," a West European diplomat said, giving as an example the Council on Namibia, created in 1972 to foster independence for the South African-controlled territory of South-West Africa.

In this case, and in other committees dealing with such subjects as Palestinian rights and decolonization, the active nations generally include the Soviet Union and several countries closely allied to it: the Western countries, by contrast, are under-represented.

The whole process is gerrymandered against the West," the European diplomat said. "The Eastern bloc invents the tone and controls the process," he said, adding that often the debates and resolutions emerging from the committees con-

stitute a "huge propaganda jamboree."

"We have all come to the conclusion that you'd have to join these committees in tremendous strength," he said.

The former chief U.S. representative at the United Nations, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has cited the 1975 resolution branding Zionism to be a "form of racism" as an example of the Soviet ability to push the agenda in a radical direction. Similarly, many delegates contend that the Russians, far more than the Arab countries, have pressed the criticism of Israel for its connections with South Africa.

Some at the United Nations, particularly those from nonaligned countries, argue that the Soviet Union has not so much actively and decisively forged a radically anti-Western agenda at the United Nations as it has taken advantage of the anti-Western sentiments of the Third World countries.

Whatever the case, studies of voting patterns show that there is "overwhelming disparity" in the rate with which the United States and the Soviet Union gain non-aligned support for their policies.

The analyst, Richard L. Jackson, said in a recently published book, "The Nonaligned, the UN, and the Superpowers," that the nonaligned nations voted with the Soviet Union an average of 83.4 percent of the time in the 1982 General Assembly. The same group voted on the average only 20.4 percent with the United States.

Delegates have also pointed out that official Soviet analyses of the Nonaligned Movement place heavy stress on Western guilt and responsibility for the problems of underdevelopment. In his book, Mr. Jackson cites an official Soviet press commentary in January saying that "99 percent of the misfor-

tunes which the member states of the NAM are suffering from are the result of the policies of imperialism, racism and Zionism."

At the United Nations, the Russians maintain by far the largest mission, with 111 listed diplomats. It is nearly twice the size of the U.S. mission. The Russians have nine diplomats of ambassadorial rank, a sign, some delegates say, of the importance Moscow attaches to the organization.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Reagan Courts Jewish Voters

Concerned about improving White House ties to Jewish voters, whose support for President Ronald Reagan has dropped sharply since 1980, the administration has named a new liaison official, Marshall J. Breger, a lawyer and a fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation, will spearhead the White House's links to the Jewish community in a job upgrade from that of associate director of the office of public liaison to the president.

On the campaign side, the Reagan-Bush re-election committee has named Levi Rabinowitz, a New York political consultant, as its full-time director for Jewish voters. Part of his job will be to increase voter awareness of the National Republican Jewish Coalition.

An estimated 40 percent of Jewish voters cast their ballots for Mr. Reagan in 1980, but recent polls indicate that he has lost half of that support. Discontent with the president's Middle East policies is a key factor in the diminished support, according to Jewish leaders.



Harold Stassen

Stassen Is Back For '84 Campaign

Harold Stassen, a former governor of Minnesota who first sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1948, has entered the 1984 New Hampshire primary. He issued a statement calling for "a new creative center program for world peace" and domestic policy changes aimed at full employment. "I hold that America has had seven years of bad politics at home and abroad," the 76-year-old lawyer said.

Americana

The Berkeley, California, City Council's refusal to recite the Pledge of Allegiance before meetings has cost it a seat on a board that will decide how to spend \$12 million in federal job training funds. Deputy Mayor Gilda Feller called the board's 11-2 vote not to give the city a seat "a shameful act."

The "dump Berkeley" drive was led by Charles Santana, an Alameda County supervisor. The Alameda County Training and Employment Board-Associated Community Action Program decides where and how the job and community assistance funds will be used. About \$660,000 is slated for Berkeley, and now the city won't have any control over it.

Mr. Santana argued at a stormy meeting Wednesday night that a city that will not honor the flag does not deserve federal funds.

Tourists Flood Wine Valley

Visitors lured by winery tours and tastings are flocking to the Napa Valley, north of San Francisco, making the wine-producing region California's most popular tourist attraction after Disneyland. Their ranks have been swelled by a prime-time soap opera about a wine-making dynasty, "Falcon Crest," which stars Jane Wyman, President Reagan's first wife.

Local officials worry that the tourist cars that choke the valley's main road, particularly on weekends, are altering the small-town ambience of the communities dotting the valley. Indeed, gourmet food stores, boutiques and expensive restaurants are replacing more homey hardware stores and groceries, and real estate prices are soaring.

State Department Gets Reform Team

The State Department has named seven of its most experienced Foreign Service professionals to a new and unusual management team in charge of reforming its operations and staffing. Heading the team is the undersecretary for management, Ronald L. Spiers, former ambassador to Pakistan and assistant secretary in charge of intelligence and political-military affairs.

Also aboard are Alfred L. Albertson, former ambassador to Egypt, special Middle East negotiator and assistant secretary for Near East and South Asian affairs, as director-general of the Foreign Service; William C. Harrop, most recently the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, as inspector-general; and Robert M. Sayre, former ambassador to Brazil, as head of the Office for Combating Terrorism. Others are Stephen Low, a former ambassador to Nigeria, named director of the Foreign Service Institute; Willard A. De Pree, former ambassador to Mozambique, named the director of management operations and chief of the State Department's policy priorities group; and Robert E. Lamb, former administrative counselor in the Bonn embassy, now the assistant secretary for administration.

Foreign Tourism In U.S. Declines

For the second year in a row, the United States has experienced a decline in the number of foreign tourist arrivals. Meanwhile, travel by Americans going to other shores grew by 7 percent. One factor is the strong dollar, a delight for Americans traveling overseas but a financial wet blanket for foreign visitors.

The United States Travel and Tourism Administration said that 24.6 million Americans went abroad during the year. But inbound foreign tourism dropped by 2 percent to an estimated 21.6 million arrivals, said the government agency, a division of the Commerce Department.

One of the United States' major travel attractions in 1984 for both domestic and foreign visitors will be the 1984 Louisiana World Exposition, a six-month event in New Orleans that opens May 12.



Roberto Viola, a former Argentine president and army commander, appears outside a military tribunal in Buenos Aires. He was arraigned Thursday on charges related to the disappearances of thousands of Argentines in the 1970s.

3 More Former Leaders Arraigned in Argentina

United Press International

BUENOS AIRES — Former President Leopoldo Galtieri and the two other members of the military junta that initiated the Falklands war were arraigned Friday for court-martial on charges of murder, torture and kidnapping.

Three other former junta members — former presidents Roberto Viola and Jorge Videla and a former navy commander, Armando Lambruschini — were arraigned Thursday.

Those arraigned Friday — Brigadier General Basilio Lami Dozo, the former air force chief, Admiral Jorge Anaya, the former navy commander, and General Galtieri — face separate court-martial for their roles in the defeat by Britain over the Falklands.

In all, nine former junta members are being court-martialed on orders from President Raúl Alfonsín. He has said the commanders bore the greatest responsibility for the disappearance and presumed death of thousands of Argentines during the military's war against suspected terrorists in the mid-1970s.

To avoid future abuses, Interior Minister Antonio Troccoli said Thursday that he would form a

special anti-terrorist unit to combat extremists in legal ways.

General Galtieri and Admiral Anaya face penalties ranging up to the death sentence in another military trial yet to be held that will determine responsibility for the Falklands debacle.

Admiral Anaya is believed to be the commander most directly responsible for pressuring General Galtieri to launch the April 2, 1982, invasion of the islands, which are known here as the Malvinas. The navy under Admiral Anaya was largely ineffective during the war, but the air force, headed by General Lami Dozo, was considered to have performed courageously.

Mr. Alfonsín, who took office Dec. 10, opened the way for the military trials Tuesday by signing a bill, approved overwhelmingly by the parliament, that abolished an amnesty for the military signed by the outgoing president, General Reynaldo Bignone.

General Bignone, who was exempted from the military trials, was ordered to appear in court Thursday in a separate case, an investigation into the disappearance of a technician. But he excused himself in a note, saying his wife was ill.

U.S. General Takes on Latin Policy Role

By Loren Jenkins

Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — General Paul F. Gorman, who as the commander of the Southern Command oversees U.S. military aid and defense commitments from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, has sought to keep a low public profile since taking up his post in May.

Refusing to give interviews or to accept invitations to receptions in the Latin capitals to which he regularly travels, General Gorman is more talked of than actually heard of.

But in Central America, the region of his command's major focus, General Gorman has begun to emerge not only in military but in political spheres.

In a region where the military rules or is likely to be the power behind the presidency, a U.S. general who dispenses arms and commands military advisers often wields authority with governments.

What is surprising, however, is that, after six months in the post, General Gorman, 56, has begun to appear to many as Washington's virtual proconsul to the area, frequently overshadowing ambassadors and at times overruling them.

"There is no question that General Gorman is playing a major role in Central America," said a U.S. ambassador. "After all, he is the man with all the goodies — the military programs — they all want."

Because the Reagan administration has made security a "central component" of its foreign policy in Central America, a senior State Department official said, "It is the man who has ultimate responsibility for that key component who is going to have a big role to play within that policy."

A much-decorated veteran of the Korean and Vietnam wars, General Gorman served as a staff member in the Vietnam peace negotiations in Paris, did a tour with the CIA and, most recently, was an assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"The general is not just an implementer," said a staff officer at the command headquarters along the Panama Canal. "He is a conceptualizer, a strategic thinker."

General Gorman is said by those who work with him to take the military view that force must be met with counterforce if U.S. strategic interests are to be protected in Central America.

But General Gorman is said to favor using Central American military force rather than that of the United States whenever a counterweight is needed, whether against the revolutionary Sandinista regime in Nicaragua or the Marxist-led guerrillas besieging the U.S.-supported government in El Salvador.

"What General Gorman stands for is the Central Americanization

of any intervention," said a U.S. military attaché. "He believes that if the Marxists are going to be defeated here they're going to have to be defeated by the Central Americans themselves. His position is that the way to win in Central America is to upgrade the region's own military through training, military assistance and increased regional military coordination and cooperation."

It is that effort to form a better and more coordinated pro-U.S. military alliance in Central America that has brought General Gorman into the limelight he has tried to avoid. His efforts have brought criticism from many Central Americans and some U.S. officials who say he has overstepped his role.

In August, he met with the defense ministers of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras on the aircraft carrier Ranger off Honduras to urge the ministers to revive a Central American Defense Council, known by its Spanish abbreviation

as Condeca, that had been inactive since Honduras and El Salvador fought a brief war in 1969. The idea behind the revived council, U.S. military sources said, was to create a military alliance that could face down Nicaragua.

Two days after the meeting, General Oscar Mejia Victores, the Guatemalan defense minister, toppled President Efraín Ríos Montt, who had shown little interest in joining such an effort.

U.S. officials denied that the meeting on the Ranger had anything to do with the overthrow of General Ríos Montt. But Central Americans, long suspicious of U.S. meddling in their affairs, were quick to allege a connection.

General Gorman met on Oct. 1 with the same generals in Guatemala City, joined this time by General Antonio Noriega, the commander of the Panamanian National Guard.

The meeting in Guatemala City

triggered a dispute between the State Department and the Pentagon. When the U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, Frederic L. Chapin, heard that General Gorman planned to attend the meeting as an "observer," he reportedly protested to Washington that it would be impolitic since the United States had no official role in Condeca.

General Gorman and the Pentagon are said to have insisted that he should attend. According to a State Department source, the incident has caused Mr. Chapin to fall out of favor with the White House.

"What we are seeing is the ongoing Pentagon-State Department tug of war on Central American policy," a U.S. diplomat said. "Unfortunately for us, Gorman is much more powerful and influential than any previous southern commander. And that means that with him the Pentagon has a voice down here that is as strong as, probably stronger than, ours."

Astronomers Find Something Big

It May Be 10th Planet, a Comet or Even a Galaxy

By Thomas O'Toole

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A heavenly body possibly as large as Jupiter and possibly so close to Earth that it may be part of this solar system has been found by an orbiting telescope called the Infrared Astronomical Satellite, or IRAS.

So mysterious is the object that astronomers do not know if it is a planet, a giant comet, a nearby "protostar" that never got hot enough to become a star, a distant galaxy still in the process of forming its first stars, or a galaxy so shrouded in dust that none of its light ever gets through.

"All I can tell you is that we don't know what it is," said Dr. Gerry Neugebauer, IRAS chief scientist for California's Jet Propulsion Laboratory and director of the Mount Palomar Observatory for the California Institute of Technology. The IRAS observatory, an \$80-million venture sponsored by the United States, Britain and the Netherlands, was launched in January.

The most fascinating explanation of this body, which is so cold it casts no light and has never been seen by optical telescopes on Earth or in space, is that it is a giant gaseous planet as large as Jupiter and as close to Earth as 50 billion miles (80 billion kilometers). That is a stone's throw

in cosmological terms, so close that it would be the nearest heavenly body to Earth beyond the outermost planet of the solar system, Pluto.

"If it is really that close, it would be a part of our solar system," said Dr. James Houck of Cornell University's Center for Radio Physics and Space Research and a member of the IRAS science team. "If it is that close, I don't know how the world's planetary scientists would even begin to classify it."

The body was seen twice by the IRAS satellite as it scanned the northern sky from last January to November; at that point, the satellite ran out of the super-cold helium that allowed its telescope to see the coldest bodies in the heavens. The second observation took place six months after the first and suggested the mystery body had not moved from its spot near the western edge of the constellation Orion.

"This suggests it's not a comet because a comet would not be as large as the one we've observed and a comet would probably have moved," Dr. Houck said. "A planet may have moved if it were as close as 50 billion miles, but it could still be a more distant planet and not have moved in six months' time."

When IRAS scientists first saw the body and calculated that it could be as close as 50 billion miles, there was some speculation that it might be approaching Earth.

"It's not incoming mail," Dr. Neugebauer said. "I want to do some idea with as much cold water as I can."

Then what is it? What if it is as large as Jupiter and so close to the sun it would be part of the solar system? Conceivably, it could be the 10th planet astronomers believe to exist and have searched for in vain. It also might be a Jupiter-like mass that started to become a star but never got hot enough.

While they cannot disprove that notion, Dr. Neugebauer and Dr. Houck are so bedeviled by it that they do not want to accept it. The two scientists hope the mystery body is a distant galaxy either so young that its stars have not begun to shine or so surrounded by dust that its starlight cannot penetrate the shroud.

"I believe it's one of these dark, young galaxies that we have never been able to observe before," Dr. Neugebauer said. "If it is, then it is a major step forward in our understanding of the size of the universe, how the universe formed and how it continues to form as time goes on."

The next step in pinpointing what the mystery body is, Dr. Neugebauer said, is to study it with the world's largest optical telescopes.

Warsaw May Postpone Food Price Increases

The Associated Press

WARSAW — Food price increases that were widely expected New Year's Day will be delayed until February, a government source said Friday. The move appeared to reflect concern over public opposition.

A source at the Price Ministry, who asked not to be identified, said the increases might be delayed even further. Ministry officials refused to confirm the statement.

"As you know, the boost was planned for Jan. 1, 1984, but it was shifted to an unknown date," the source said.

"It's obvious that it cannot be done in the middle of the month, since the price increases concern rationed products," the source said.

"Nothing will happen until February 1984."

The increases, which would raise the cost of living by 10 to 15 percent, have been subject to public consultation, since being announced in mid-November.

Ramping up to a proposed 40 percent rise in the cost of low-fat butter, they have drawn opposition from underground leaders of the banned independent union Solidarity and from the new unions formed after the banning of Solidarity.

The government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski has shown caution over the proposals. Price increases of up to 200 percent passed without opposition during the strict, early days of martial law in February 1982. Price increases



Lech Walesa

caused riots in 1970 and 1976 and led to the protests in 1980 that spawned Solidarity.

Walesa is interrogated by police. Lech Walesa, for more than two hours about an underground union meeting last month, but he said it would not stop him from meeting with outlawed union members again, according to The Associated Press.

Private Catalan TV Station Ends Spain's Government Monopoly

By John Darnton

New York Times Service

BARCELONA — When J.R. of "Dallas" was shot on television here not so long ago, most viewers did not realize it but the event marked the end of a significant era for Spanish television. What ended was the government's monopoly of the medium.

The autonomous region of Catalonia has begun its own television. The station broadcasts over northeastern Spain entirely in Catalan, the widely spoken regional language.

Catalan, which is what the rest of the world knows as Spanish, is the national language and is used by both of the state-run television channels based in Madrid.

The start of TV 3, as the station will be called, is seen as the key to a cultural revival of Catalonia. The station's directors say it has encountered resistance in Madrid, perhaps because it is feared as a vehicle for Catalan nationalism.

Symptomatic of its aggressive programming, the regional station has acquired the rights to broadcast the third year of the "Dallas" series, the popular American drama that was dropped by the national network just as J.R. was shot.

On a trial run Sept. 10, the opening episode was broadcast, the one in which the identity of the culprit was revealed. Because Catalan television has an exclusivity clause in its contracts, the national network could not broadcast the material even if it purchased it.

In theory, this means that Catalans know who pulled the trigger on the scheming Texas millionaire, while 31 million other Spaniards are still in the dark.

As its name implies, TV 3 is

intended as a competitive alternative to the two national channels.

The programming scheduled in January is a mix of news, American serials and fare from the BBC, such as the 37 plays of Shakespeare. All of it is dubbed into Catalan. The intent is to draw as wide an audience as possible among the region's 6 million people.

"We're going to break the state monopoly on TV," said Alfons Quintà, the general director of TV 3. "They're afraid of us. They know they're very bad professionals and so they can't stand the competition."

Leaders and politicians here see the new station as an essential instrument for insuring the survival and spread of the Catalan language, which the Franco dictatorship tried to eradicate.

For nearly 40 years it was illegal to speak Catalan in public gatherings, classrooms and government offices, or even to engrave it on tombstones.

With the advent of democracy and limited autonomy, the tables turned. Now, local laws mandate the use of Catalan in public schools, and a huge publicity campaign is under way to promote it as the language for business and public affairs. There is a large population from other parts of Spain living here, reaching as high as 40 percent, that does not speak the language.

To help the television widen the use of Catalan, the autonomous government has provided the budget of \$32 million in start-up costs. The staff numbers 125, including 23 news reporters. A lavish new headquarters is scheduled for completion toward the end of 1984.

The goal is to start by broadcasting 12 hours a week and to reach 70 hours a week after 10 months.

Catalonia is not the only region setting up its own television.

The Basque country in the north, where nationalism runs even deeper and where extremists turned to terrorism years ago to try to wrest away a separate nation, has also constructed its own station to broadcast in Euskara, the Basque language. But Euskara, a complicated tongue, is by no means spoken by all Basques.

According to Mr. Quintà, groups from other regions have come to look over his operation with a possible eye to starting their own. He said the regions included Andalusia, Galicia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and even Madrid.

The central authorities, the new Socialist government, have reasons enough to look askance on the Catalan project. Traditionally, central governments have been wary of regionalism, especially from proud, rambunctious and powerful Catalonia, which is the leading industrial center.

In addition, the Socialists' election program, while it has little to say about television run by autonomous governments, is against privately run television channels.

Mr. Quintà said executives from the national network had been less than cooperative, and so he turned to U.S. and French consultants to set up the new station.

He said that import licenses for equipment had been delayed, that permission had been denied for a TV 3 camera inside the Cortes, Spain's parliament, and that the

of its allies to suggest a nuclear-free "corridor" in central Europe that would seek to ban nuclear missiles from East and West Germany as well as Czechoslovakia. That concept has already been endorsed by West Germany's Greens party.

The Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact nations are also expected to press for other security measures that have elicited mixed responses in the West, such as "no first use" of nuclear weapons and the mutual renunciation of military force by the East and West blocs.

"Stockholm is not going to be easy for the West," said a Foreign Ministry official in Bonn. "At Madrid, we all had the same views about human rights, but the nuclear and security issues will raise complications for several NATO allies."

First Pershing-2s Reported Ready

The Associated Press

BONN — The first nine of 108 Pershing-2 nuclear missiles in Western Europe are "ready for action," the West German Defense Ministry confirmed Friday.

Peter Kurt Wuerzbach, the No. 2 official in the ministry, said, "The first American battery of nine Pershing-2 rockets is ready for action in West Germany."

He said the missiles "would be immediately dismantled and destroyed if the Soviet Union agreed to a verifiable and comparable step in arms negotiations." In addition to the Pershing-2s, West Germany is also to receive 96 cruise missiles.

Delay Sought in U.S. Benefit Increase

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan will ask Congress in his upcoming budget to postpone next June's scheduled cost-of-living increase in U.S. retirement benefits until Jan. 1, 1985.

Inflation adjustments would be made each Jan. 1 thereafter. About 3.2 million retirees, both civilian and military, would be affected.

The government would save several hundred million dollars over the next several years, while the average Civil Service retiree would lose about \$350 in 1984 income, assuming a 5-percent rate of inflation.

The administration is also readying a plan to pay less than a full cost-of-living increase each year to retired civil servants in the upper benefit brackets. They would get a full cost-of-living increase on some base benefit amount, perhaps the first \$10,000 a year. On the excess, their inflation allowance would be reduced.

Representative John N. Erlenborn, Republican of Illinois, who proposed such a shift in August, said Thursday, "I know the Office of Management and Budget is interested, and the Office of Personnel Management as well. We've been working with them."

Mr. Erlenborn's proposal would pay a full cost-of-living increase on the first \$10,000 a year in military and Civil Service benefits, but only 60 percent of inflation allowance on amounts above that.

Administration sources confirmed Thursday that a cutoff plan similar to Mr. Erlenborn's is expected to be included in the fiscal 1984 budget proposal, but they said it would not necessarily use the same \$10,000 or 60 percent figures.

According to government records, there are about 1.8 million people receiving Civil Service retirement benefits as annuitants or survivors, and more than 800,000 get \$10,000 a year or more. The average annuitant gets nearly \$12,500 a year. So if \$10,000 were used as the cutoff, it would affect a large minority of beneficiaries.

There are about 1.4 million persons receiving military retirement pensions, and about 800,000 receive \$10,000 a year or more.

Edwin L. Dale Jr., the spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget, confirmed Thursday that the administration would seek the 1984 cost-of-living postponement. He recalled that last year a one-year postponement had been requested but not enacted.

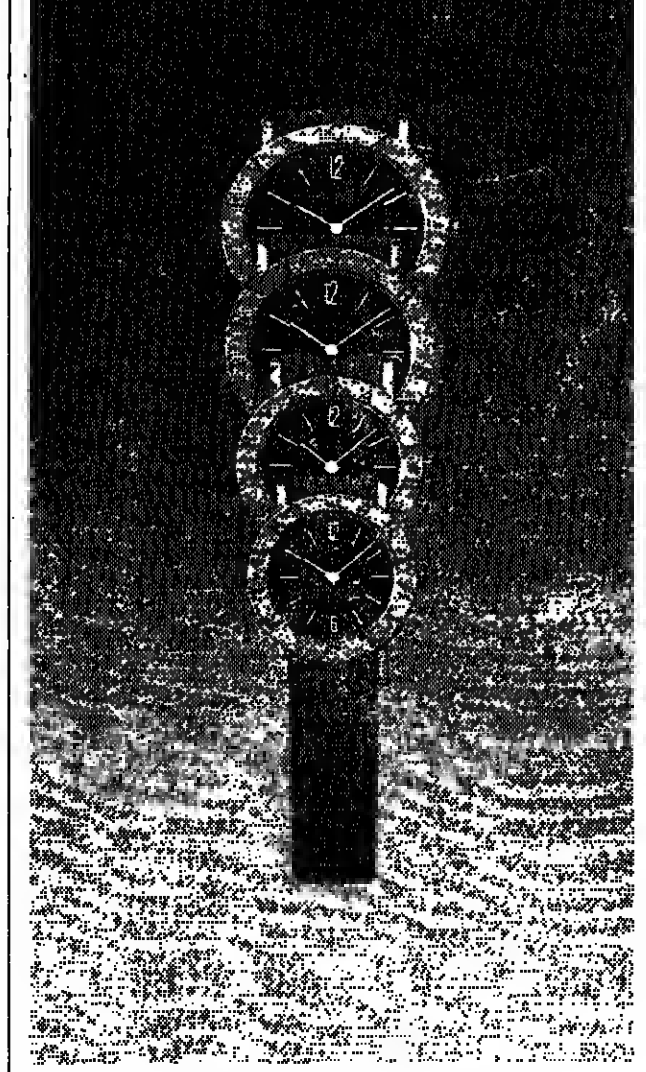
He said the administration, in effect, was concurring in a vote by the House earlier this year to delay both the next civilian and military cost-of-living increases from June 1, 1984, to Jan. 1, 1985.

Although the House did vote for the postponement and the Senate

budget committee also approved it, it never passed the Senate, and sources said Thursday that its future was unclear.

U.S. civilian and military retirees last received a cost-of-living adjustment in April. It was 3.9 percent for Civil Service retirees and older military retirees. Military retirees under 62, however, got 3.3 percent.

Capitol Hill sources said the postponement could reduce military and Civil Service pension outlays by \$520 million in fiscal 1984, \$810 million in fiscal 1985 and \$1.4 billion in fiscal 1986.



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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Who Runs the Kremlin?

As if to mock Orwell's omnipresent Big Brother, the Soviet Union enters 1984 with the extended absence of its leader, Yuri Andropov. The lies about his "cold" have been abandoned, but a conspiracy of silence continues to conceal the illness that made him appear deathly ill even before he ceased to appear in public altogether four months ago. Who is really in command, and is he up to it?

Of course the reluctance to concede frailty in high places is not a uniquely Soviet failing. The White House has seen many such cover-ups, even when it meant leaving an arrogant physician, protective wife or scheming aide to wield presidential power. Indeed, this paranoia of power has plagued most political systems through most of history. But in a superpower in the nuclear age it is unacceptable.

Instead of hinting delicately at some doubt about who is in charge in Moscow these days, President Reagan should be pressing the question openly, for all the world. To ask it is not impolite but a tribute to the vast power of the Soviet Union over all of us.

Why can't they admit disability? Judging by American history, there is no ready answer.

Often men of power like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt have spent a lifetime willing away infirmity, and they just persist in the habit. Both men embarked on death-defying missions abroad, and Wilson conspired for 18 months in denying a paralysis that left his wife running his administration.

Often, too, presidents easily persuade themselves that America's health is synonymous

with their own. Grover Cleveland was so certain he alone could avert a catastrophic depression that he organized a vast charade so as to have a cancerous growth removed in secret aboard a yacht in New York harbor. Andrew Jackson struggled on despite constant pain to defeat the Bank of the United States.

And often the failure to let someone else take charge can be traced to timid or jealous or supercilious aides. James Garfield lay dying for 10 weeks amid pretenses of recovery. The severity of Ronald Reagan's gunshot wound was disguised to avoid even a brief transfer of authority. Only Dwight Eisenhower's team gave the public elaborate accounts of his heart attack, his ileitis and his small stroke, but even like at times misjudged his capacity to resume command in case of emergency.

Military emergency in the nuclear age has a higher claim on medical truth than even the ethics of democracy. The very power that makes an impaired Soviet or U.S. hierarchy want to pretend to be functioning smoothly argues for brutal confession of a leader's infirmity. Only then can the adversary, and the millions who live in the path of the superpowers' weapons, be sure the lines of command and communication are at all times clear.

The biggest favor that Russians and Americans can do for each other when their leaders appear to be in distress is to put the awkward question without shame. Wish Mr. Andropov a speedy recovery, but demand to know: When he is indisposed, who is in charge?

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

So, Trim the Trimmings

From Frank Fahrenkopf, chairman of the Republican National Committee, comes the announcement that his party is considering reducing its 1984 national convention from four to three days. "Very frankly," Mr. Fahrenkopf warns up, "I am concerned."

In the summer of 1984, American televisioners will see the Democratic National Convention in July, the Summer Olympics a short time afterward and then the Republican extravaganza in August — "a convention where we'll likely nominate the president and the vice president." Besides (and here the cat sneaks out of the bag), "the major networks have already indicated that they are not going to give favel-to-gavel coverage."

Mr. Fahrenkopf, who was 12 years old the last time a national convention took more than one ballot to nominate a president, is recognizing an obvious truth: The conventions have become television programs. They are produced by the party's nominee and are, in effect, a kind of free electioneering — unless the nominee, like Jimmy Carter in 1980, loses control over the proceedings.

Once upon a time you could not predict with certainty how many days a convention would last. In 1924 the Democrats took 103 ballots and 17 days to nominate John W. Davis. As late as 1960, national convention delegates were still wearing funny hats and marching in the aisles 40 minutes at a time, not realizing that this was burning, not helping their party's chances with the viewers back home. Now the

party managers know better. They try to schedule interesting events and speeches for prime time and to keep anything divisive to hours when few people are watching. In the process, the delegates have become the last people to know what is happening, unless they are wise enough to bring portable television sets and earphones to their seats on the floor. The conventions have become larger and larger or even as their real function in American politics has become smaller and smaller.

The networks have not given us gavel-to-gavel coverage for a long time now. They usually ignore what is happening on the platform, as most people in the hall do. They seem to resist, with varying success, showing what the convention managers want on the air.

The conventions still have their uses. They are the only times when each of those mastodons and colossuses, the American political parties, gathers itself together in a single place. They show us the morale of the parties. (An alert watcher of the 1980 conventions might have guessed the outcome of that election from the verve of the Republicans and the cynicism of the Democrats.) So we are glad no one wants to abolish national conventions altogether. Mr. Fahrenkopf, as we understand him, is just not sure his party will have enough material for four evenings of free television time; he hopes the show will be better covered by the networks in three. He is not ready to declare this particular brontosaurus extinct.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Opinion

Two Hands and No Kibitzers?

From India's point of view generally, and from [Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's] in particular, there are two ways of assessing the move to invite her to a meeting in New York with Mr. Reagan and Mr. Andropov.

It is possible to argue that Mrs. Gandhi should seize the opportunity to underscore India's rightful position in the hierarchy of world powers and demonstrate her persuasive ability in the most challenging peace-negotiating assignment that has ever come her way.

It can further be suggested that, given the spirit of understanding that exists between India and the Soviet Union, Mrs. Gandhi could use the New York meeting to arrange a Soviet return to the arms reduction talks without loss of face to them.

If all this actually happened, the non-aligned movement would have a credibility shot in the arm, while Mrs. Gandhi would feel personally pleased with her success.

In fact, the invitation amounts to little.

The Soviet Union is perhaps far less anxious to resume nuclear arms negotiations, particularly the talks on medium-range weapons broken off at Geneva, than the West would like to believe. Nuclear politics is not just a naive madness, as the UN General Assembly president seems to suggest. It unfortunately is a game of poker which superpowers play.

They are, therefore, unlikely to be swayed by Mrs. Gandhi's negotiating skill, even if such a meeting took place at all.

—The Times of India (Bombay)

Nancy Reagan Seems Gase

January and February will be busy months for the Reagans, with the president expected to announce on Jan. 29 that he will seek reelection. So far Nancy Reagan has shown she can keep a secret. She has been bombarded as many times as the president for a definitive answer about his plans, but she has managed to avoid tipping his hand.

For many weeks it appeared she was reluctant to have him run again. She fears for his safety, and he is well aware of that, knowing she worries every time he leaves the White House gates. But now the first lady, who apparently has gained some weight and is looking better, seems to be adjusted to one last hurrah in the political life of Ronald Reagan. She was uneasy at first in the White House, but she seems to be at home there now.

It is doubtful that Mrs. Reagan will take on strictly political appearances without her husband. But she will be traveling in support of her own main cause — helping young people avoid drug and alcohol addiction, and she will be projecting the image of a caring first lady.

—Helen Thomas (UPI)

FROM OUR DEC. 31 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: Some Fade With the Old Year

LONDON — The "Daily Graphic," dealing with the story of 1908, observes: "The year which has seen the German Emperor muzzled and Mr. [Theodore] Roosevelt issue his last Presidential message, which has witnessed the political extinction of the Sultan Abdul Hamid and the passing of the Empress Tsi Hsi, has not dealt rigidly with its dramatic personae." The "Morning Leader" takes the view that for most of us the closing year has not been propitious. "The great boom of the early years of the century is over," the London daily continues, "and trade has been depressed throughout the world. The American crisis has aggravated the reaction, and, with the cotton strike, the trouble in the engineering trade has swelled the rank of our unemployed."

1933: Youth Slays Romanian Leader

BUCHAREST — Martial law was proclaimed throughout Romania [on Dec. 30] after the assassination of Dr. Ion Duca, Liberal premier. Nicholas Constantinescu, the student assassin, himself narrowly escaped being murdered after he had been captured by detectives and bystanders, it was learned. Politico Micescu, the premier's brother-in-law, forced his way into a room of the Sinaia railway station, where Constantinescu was being held, and fired several shots at the assassin. His aim was poor, however, and he only wounded Constantinescu slightly in the arm. The wish to do away with Duca had been alive in student circles for some weeks, Constantinescu said, because the premier was a Freemason and had "sold his country to the Jews."



For 1984, More of the Same?

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — The first column of the year is the one in which to go out on a limb. I called Allan J. Lichtman of American University. In the spring of 1981 he sat down with Volodia Keilis-Borok of Moscow's Academy of Sciences, a specialist in earthquake analysis, and they contrived a formula that they said would have correctly predicted every American presidential election in the last 120 years.

So I called Mr. Lichtman and asked how things were looking for Ronald Reagan. He did not duck. "It looks very solid for Reagan, if the president remains healthy and runs for office," he said.

Recalling for me that his system had 13 key indicators, and that the incumbent party always wins unless more than five keys are against it, he said that so far only two of the keys had turned against the Republicans. Even they might turn around.

In Mr. Lichtman's view, Mr. Reagan cannot claim a major success in foreign or military policy. Also, the yearly mean per capita growth rate in real GNP has been lower than during the previous administration. But the other keys, the professor says, are all turned in Mr. Reagan's favor: Republicans did win 51 percent of the popular vote in the previous election; Mr. Reagan is (presumably) running for re-election; he did initiate major changes in national policy; he is charismatic.

Further, he does not face a serious contest for renomination; there is not what Mr. Lichtman regards as major third party or independent campaign activity; there is no election year recession or depression in the forecasts; there has not been

major social unrest; nor a major scandal; nor a major setback in foreign or military policy; nor will the opposition nominate a charismatic candidate or war hero, if the polls favoring Walter Mondale are right. Several of those answers could change before November. But if you remember that Mr. Lichtman's theory re-elects Mr. Reagan unless more than five keys are turned against him, the theory makes it "very difficult for Reagan to lose."

Having pushed the professor out to the end of the limb, I will avoid the temptation to saw it off behind him. I'll just quietly tip toe home, leaving this note on a stump:

Dear Allan: In my heart I'd like to be out on that limb with you, but as an objective journalist I cannot indulge in sensational predictions. Privately, I like Mr. Reagan's chances, too, but for different reasons than the ones you cite. I think he has got a lot of things going for him. For example: Yuri Andropov. Critics say Mr. Reagan is the first president since Herbert Hoover not to meet the head of the Soviet Union, but no president can be blamed for not holding a summit with a man who is not there. If Nikita Khrushchev were still around, Mr. Reagan might be in trouble, but compared to Mr. Andropov Mr. Reagan is a steady worker and highly accessible to the press and the public.

Congress. Next to running against Yuri Andropov, running against Congress is Mr. Reagan's surest winning play. Congress also

doesn't come to work much. When it does, people wish it didn't.

The deficit. The deficit is terrible. Conservatives abhor deficits. Mr. Reagan is a conservative. Ergo, Mr. Reagan's the one.

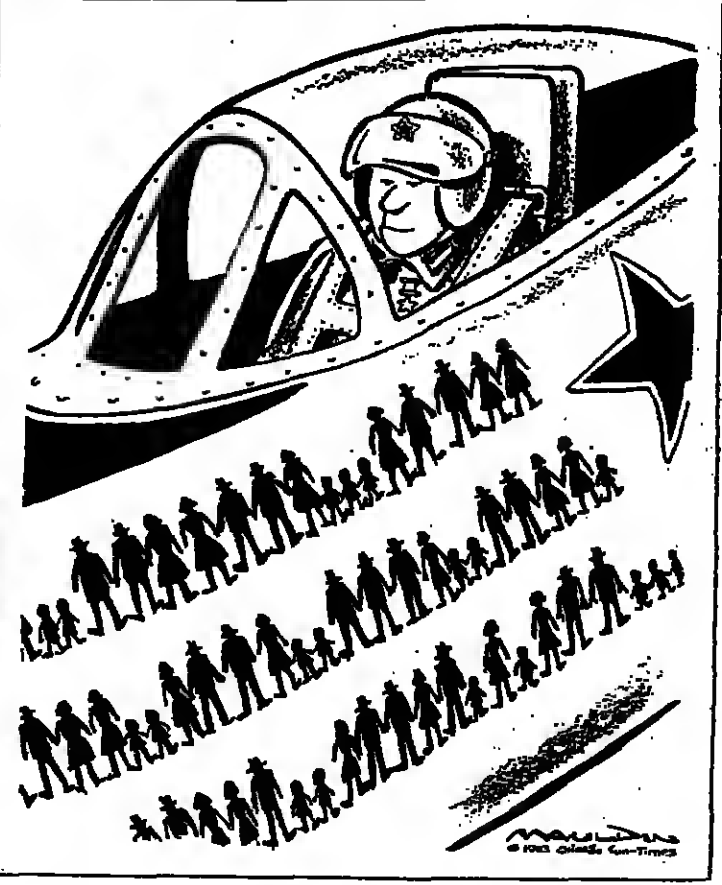
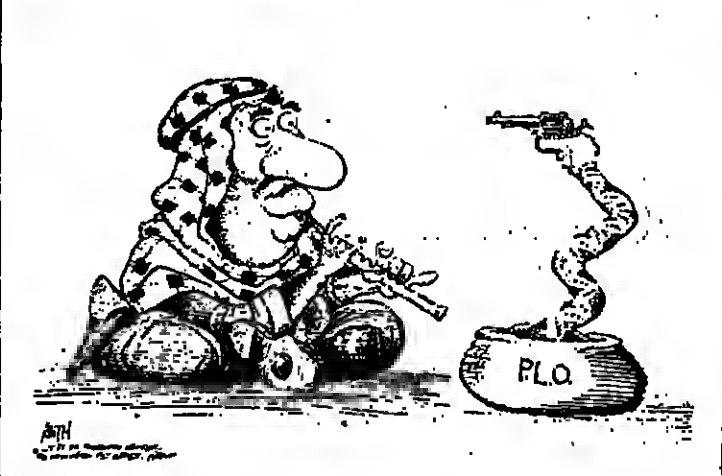
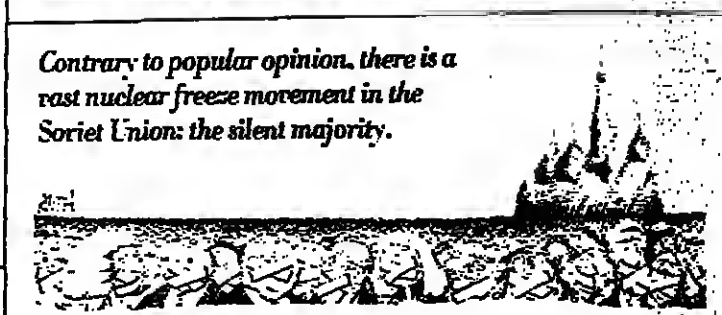
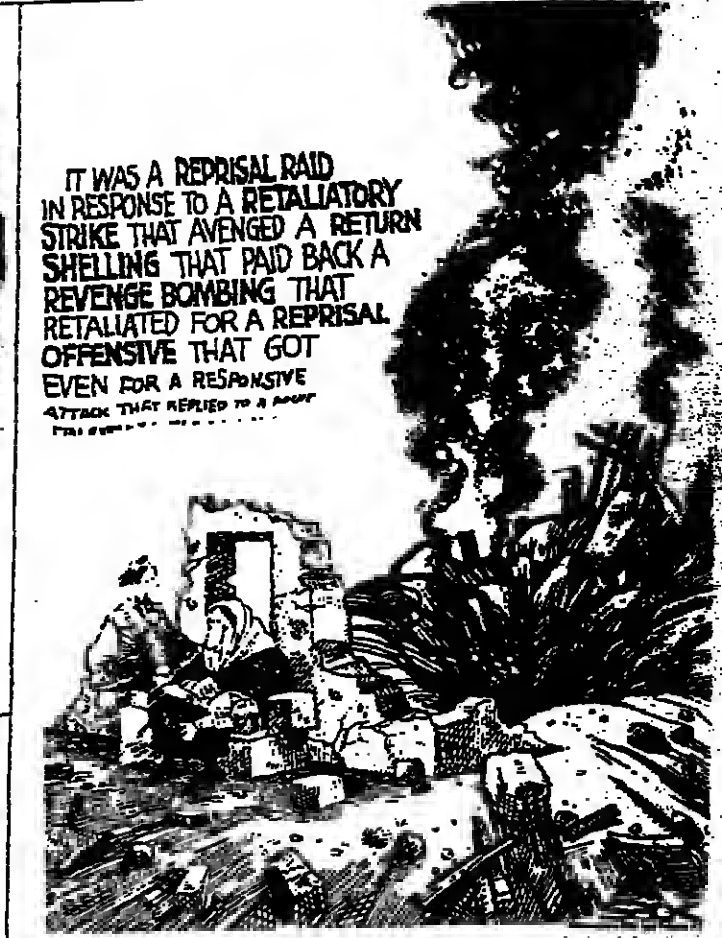
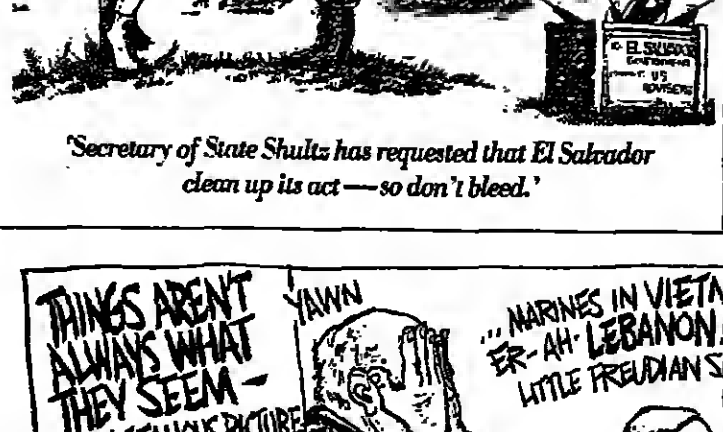
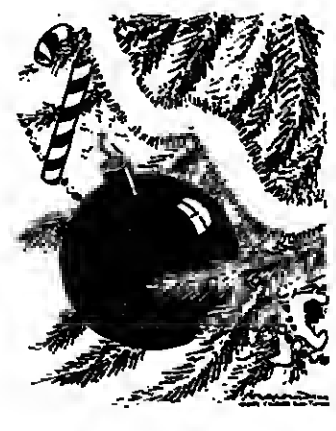
Jesse Jackson. Since Mr. Jackson entered the race, no other Democrat running for president has been able to get two minutes of television time. By the time the primaries are over most voters will believe Mr. Jackson is the Democratic candidate, because he is the only one they will have seen. If the Democrats fail to nominate Mr. Jackson there will be a voter rebellion. Likewise if they do.

Walter Mondale. Mr. Mondale is ready, he says. He is ready to defend the Carter administration, the AFL-CIO, the teachers' unions, the Great Society and even welfare spending. With a defense like that, who needs an offense?

John Anderson. The white-haired, righteous one, buoyed by his success in finishing third in 1980, is starting a new party in 1984. Polls say three of every four votes that he draws would otherwise go Democratic. With enemies like that, who says a president needs friends?

Television. This is the greatest invention ever, a process that converts a pattern of electronic dots on an orthon tube into an image capable of convincing people there really is a President Reagan. It comes when he beckons, leaves when he frowns, and when he looks stumped, his handman asks, "What would you like for Christmas, Mr. President?" With a machine like that, who needs an organization?

The Washington Post



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ARTS / LEISURE

Paris: Dolls, Figures From 5 Continents

By Michael Gibson

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — There is a rudimentary Brazilian doll, made out of two inches of some animal's leg bone, with a pigtail down its back and two minute wax breasts. There are elaborate Japanese dolls with refined painted faces, a Hungarian doll made of an ear of corn, an Algerian doll of brightly colored cloth seated astride a goat's jawbone (complete with teeth) that somehow manages to evoke a camel, modern Western dolls representing little ladies and their wardrobes, and many more, made of rags, bamboo, clay, leather, wax, tin, porcelain, plastic, assembled to illustrate the surprising human need and ability to shape our own solemn, cuddly or playful likeness out of practically anything. In all, about 850 dolls from five continents are assembled in an unusual, colorful show at the Musée de l'Homme (Place du Trocadéro, through April 15).

A doll is such a familiar object of everyday life that one may be surprised at the sober, studious attention that the catalog of this show gives them. More often than not they belong to the tender intimacy of family life, where the sterner realities of society do not intrude. But this is not always the case, and the subject turns out to be more intricate than one might expect.

The show, however, is simply and attractively presented and the big white cases filled with a wealth of colors and materials could remind one of a vast collection of butterflies.

Even a cursory glance reveals the delightful inventive playfulness called forth to please children or gods — for dolls are not only made to keep girls and boys quiet at night or happy in their games, they also serve magic or ritual purposes, though that sort of description is a simplification. In some regions of Africa a woman who has no children will carry a doll intended to



Cornish doll, Hungary.

produce fertility, while one magnificent stylized wooden figure belonging to the museum was carved by a woman in Ghana who wanted her children to be beautiful. This is not just superstition, but a way of giving public expression to an intimate need. In southern India certain dolls are thought to have curative powers. Others, elsewhere, teach children. A collection made for Eskimo boys comes with carefully reproduced weapons and hunter's tools.

Some dolls serve specific cere-

monial purposes. This is the case of the extraordinarily refined, elaborate figurines made in Japan for the annual boys' day and girls' day celebrations. Others now stand as a record of the way people dressed in other times or places.

This great assembly of little people is a charming, surprising survey of the uses made of the human figure outside the field of art — in that undefined area where magic, ritual and children's games meet and merge.

The Musée de la Marine, in the same building as the Musée de l'Homme, contains a splendid array of objects, paintings and even a few small seagoing vessels, some of them carved and gilded, in its permanent collection. It is currently host to another ethnological exhibition, which, under the title "Le Masque au long cours," offers an interesting selection of masks and objects from New Guinea, through Feb. 27. These masks were brought to the attention of the Western world by seafarers and first arrived in Europe as trophies and souvenirs three centuries ago.

The catalog is a selection of essays by anthropologists and reveals the less obvious intentions of the exhibition — to incite visitors to dwell on some aspects of life in their own societies by observing the significance of the mask in other societies, its function in social play and in the consolidation of social structure. As such, small as it is, the show invites one to revise some of the accepted modern notions that find a caricatured expression of sorts in some of the writings of Adolph Loos — the architect who, along with his colleagues of the first half of this century, so radically influenced the Western perception of art and ornament.

□

"A man who, today, feels a need to dash paint on a wall is a criminal or a degenerate," he wrote in 1920. "This need is normal in a child. . . . In a modern adult man it is a pathological symptom."

Today, mainly thanks to the thoughtful work of anthropologists, we are beginning to have a different perception of art and ornament, although the ruins of mill buildings in modern cities still show traces of the trauma inflicted by the ideas of the likes of Loos.

The show is combined with a section for the young, intended to give some notions of what masks are about and how they are made. This includes regular sessions of face painting as well as creation of, and play with, masks.

□

Chana Orloff, born in Odessa in 1888, died during a visit to Israel to attend a retrospective exhibition of her work on her 80th birthday in 1968. She was one of the outstanding women sculptors of her age — and it was an age in which it was not easy for a woman to be a successful sculptor.

Not only did she have an impeccable sense of form, she also had a vivid perception of the meaningful nuance and a keen sense of humor that expressed itself in volumes, lines and attitudes without ever ceasing to respect the laws of artistic necessity.

She was a fashionable Parisian portraitist in the 1920s, but nothing in her work suggests a "society" portraitist. Her busts tend to pre-



Figure from Madagascar.

sent her subjects as types. They do not attempt to penetrate nuances of character in-depth but rather to communicate something immediate and striking in a theatrical sense. The surfaces of her sculptures are generally smooth and the planes at first seem surprisingly simple, but they are full of clever inflections and nothing mechanical commands their shape.

An excellent collection of works by this outstanding artist is on show at the Galerie Valois (41 Rue de Seine, through Feb. 16).

□

Other exhibitions of interest include a handsome collection of about 370 archaeological and artistic items presenting 100 centuries of civilization in Syria, "Aa Pays de Baal et d'Astarté" at the Petit Palais (through Jan. 8); the rightly famous Goulandris Collection of Cycladic art at the Grand Palais (through Jan. 8); Leonetto Cappiello, the prominent and amusing poster artist of the prewar period in France, who had a show last year at the Grand Palais, at the Ile des Arts gallery (66 Rue Saint Louis en l'Île, through Jan. 15); posters of a slightly earlier period (1885-1900) at the Galerie de l'Équerre, (9 Rue Dante, through Jan. 15); tapestries after designs by Folon at the Galerie Robert Four, (28 Rue Bonaparte, through Jan. 15); Tsai, whose kinetic work is one of the attractions at the "Electra" exhibition (Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris), showing other work at the Denise René Gallery (196 Boulevard Saint-Germain, through Dec. 31); the Nikolaenko Gallery (220 Boulevard Saint-Germain, through Jan. 14) with a collection of Russian and Greek icons from the 15th through the 19th centuries; and Janette Ostler, Japanese paintings and objects representing animals (26 Place des Vosges, through Jan. 8).



"A Funeral in Wallonia," lithograph by Félicien Rops.

Brussels: The Unsparring Satire of Félicien Rops

By Rona Dobson

International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Félicien Rops proved a craggy morsel for the 19th-century establishment to swallow and much of his work was prudishly snatched away out of sight as being too decadent for a respectable public, even pornography. His attacks hit into targets as forcefully as the acid he used for etching, pressed home with an unsparring satire that made him powerful enemies.

He was a prolific artist and writer, and his etchings, drawings and illustrations drew constant attention. Among those who matched his ferocity of line with their own ferocity of pen and tongue he was hailed as a genius on a level with the old Flemish masters.

To celebrate the 150th anniversary of his birth, an immense and, it is hoped, definitive catalog of his output is being prepared. In the meantime, a relatively small but enlightening and absorbing selection of his work is on exhibition through Jan. 29 at the Royal Museum of Mariemont, near Charleroi. The château of Mariemont recently burned — a recurring catastrophe ever since its construction in the 16th century as a little country castle on a hill for Marie of Hungary — and a modern museum has

been built in its place, surrounded by the grandiose château grounds.

Raoul Warocqué, a contemporary of Rops, whose idea it was to convert the old château into a museum, was a fanatical collector of Rops's work. By 1892, several years before Rops died, Warocqué had amassed several hundred drawings, etchings, lithographs and bookplates by the artist. The reference library at Mariemont has a fine selection of books illustrated by Rops. Despite extensive damage to the château in fires this century, the collection, much of which was long kept elsewhere, is intact.

Scabrous cartoons, near-pornographic and ruthlessly erotic etchings of women, severely anti-clerical illustrations present what must have been a satirically clear-eyed view of life, undoubtedly the character traits that led Rops into a close friendship and mutual admiration society with Baudelaire. Alongside the cynical prods at hypocrisy and sly vice are works with a strikingly compassionate observation or a determinedly political stance.

One startlingly topical cartoon, "Order Reigns in Warsaw," has a human corpse beneath a mound bearing the legend "Liberty"; a culture descends towards the bloodied body, and in the dark sky bulky clouds form a whirlwind of

shapes, horsemen riding and slashing, bodies hanging from gallows. "It shows the Polish uprising in the mid-19th century that was put down with great cruelty by the Russian Empire," said an assistant curator at the museum, Pierre-Jean Foulon, a Rops scholar. "The artist was very aware of the political scene and always lashed out at brutality and repression."

Rops also possessed a keen awareness of the social scene. His portrait of a young woman in working clothes leaning grimly against a wall bearing the word "Grief" is straightforwardly compassionate, entirely different from the famous nude leading a pig on a leash known as "Pornocrates," often alluded to by contemporary Belgian artists, or the scornful thrust in his drawing of a young man leaning against a wall, sick and retching, in a cloak and while a sinister arm offers him a basket of pears and bananas. The title is "Homeopathic Numb."

Sometimes social understanding and judgmental satire combine in one work. "A Funeral in Wallonia" is at first sight a desolate scene of a country burial but Rops manages to open a chasm between genuine grief and pious, contrasting the stance of the relatives with the practiced hypocrisy in the expressions of the officiating clergymen.

Sotheby's Scores a Spectacular Advance in the Battle of the Auction Room

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — In what amounts to the biggest battle ever waged between the Big Two in the auction business, Sotheby's has scored a major victory.

The new majority shareholder and chairman of Sotheby's group board, A. Alfred Taubman, said that international sales had totaled £141 million (about \$200 million)

SOURIN MELKIAN

since early September — a 74 percent increase over the 1982 full season.

"This leap forward is spectacular given Sotheby's disastrous plight last year. Amidst criticism of mismanagement and rumors of takeover maneuvers by a group vehemently opposed by the management, the firm seemed to be sinking. Christie's, trying to look discreetly unconcerned, could sit back and relish having taken the lead for the first time in years. This was not to last long. Christie's is now once again trailing slightly behind Sotheby's, with worldwide sales reaching £282 million, a 30 percent progression over last year's fall figures. It has good reason to be satisfied, but it has failed to inflict on its rival the crushing defeat that seemed to be on the cards this time last year.

There is further cause for rejoicing at Sotheby's. Taubman, a press release said, "confirmed a year-end pre-tax profit for the financial year which ended Aug. 31 of £5.1 million . . . a turnaround of £8.2 million within one year, from the

company's pre-tax loss of £3.1 million in the last financial year."

Can this last? Two factors combined to bring about this result. Sotheby's trimmed more than a quarter of its staff and such expendable regional branches as Los Angeles were closed down. Insiders say a lot remains to be done in New York.

With a businessman like Taubman at the wheel and his men in control — David Ward, his former chief accountant and the group's new managing director, has moved to London to be at the hub of things — I would bet on Sotheby's running a tighter ship in the United States within the next year, which may lead to some limited reduction in costs.

The other factor is the general economic upswing, which resulted, among other things, in the return of some major estates, collections or parts of collections on the auction market.

Here Sotheby's scored several times. The firm is far ahead of any of its rivals in its deftness at launching publicity campaigns and at steering the media, who only need a name and a colorful background to start beating the drums.

The Hever Castle event last spring will stay as the supreme example. A handful of admirable works, mixed with a vast number of less-than-admirable pieces including, here and there, what some leading experts considered to be complete duds, was built up into an Alice-in-Wonderland tale.

This fall, there was a replay in a minor key with the medieval collection of the late Thomas Flannery of

Chicago, followed by the truly marvelous Chinese collection of Mr. and Mrs. Richard C. Bull of Philadelphia. This last campaign was not nearly as loud, because it is not as easy to roll off movie-style clichés on the early days of Shang and Zhou China as on the phony turrets of a medieval castle revised by Edwardian taste. But it worked.

Sotheby's also registered losses to the enemy — above all, the Impressionists that Paul Mellon did not want for himself or his museum donations. Here Christie's made a brilliant score — with a record price for a Manet, \$3.96 million. It is in this field of Impressionist and Modern Masters, almost certainly, that the fiercest battle will be waged in the coming year.

For the past 18 months, Christie's has capitalized on Sotheby's deteriorating image in the United States. Securing highly important works of art for their Park Avenue auction room, they entrenched themselves in a field where Sotheby's had been leading — both in the United States and England. But Sotheby's poor image was linked to a phase that is over, and Taubman's role may be pre-eminently here. The list of the new members invited to join the board leaves little doubt as to the firm's new strategy, with Taubman's enthusiastic backing.

There is Baron Thyssen Bornemisza, whose Old Master collection is one of the few, worldwide, arguably on a level with those of Old World museums. Ann Getty is modestly introduced as a "board member of museums." Carroll Petrie, wife of the department store

multimillionaire, Milton Petrie, has recently declared herself a devoted collector of 18th-century French furniture. Sotheby's chairman of the Seibu Group, which has been playing a considerable role in the Japanese art market over the past decade, will be a powerful symbol to the Far Eastern world. Alexis Gregory, publisher of the Vendôme Press, Emilio Gioia of New York City, president of IEC Properties (real estate is a field increasingly connected with art buying), Earl Smith, a former ambassador and now mayor of Palm Beach, and Leslie Herbert Wexner, founder-president of a retail operation and a museum trustee, will, to varying degrees, act like magnets on sectors of the art-owning community in the United States.

With Henry Ford II as vice chairman of the board, Sotheby's almost seems to be overdoing it on the prestige side.

It will be interesting to see what happens when the next batch of substantial Impressionists comes up for grabs, in the United States — all the more so as Sotheby's enjoys the privilege of having three experts all highly regarded by professionals in the field, David Nash in New York, Michel Strauss in London, and last but not least, Marc Blondeau of Paris, a rising star at Sotheby's.

There is a limit however, to the competition between auction houses for glamorous collections. A commission war — bringing down the vendor's charge close to zero — is fraught with danger: auction houses need the revenue.

Moreover, handling glamorous collections is costly. One can go just so far in cardboard catalog production, expensive cocktail parties and the like.

Pushing prices up to hysterical limits with clever campaigns geared to a collection's glamour, real or supposed, is risky for the market at large. It is all right for a unique manuscript like the 12th-century Gospels of Henry the Lion to rise to £8.14 million; this piece, seen as a national symbol, went to the West German nation, which will not be reselling it.

But many other extravagant prices are being paid by private buyers who may one day want to put their goods back on the market. Each time an object comes back, the vendor marks it up, slapping on a higher reserve price and making its sale ever more hazardous. When

increasing numbers of heavily publicized works fail to sell, a crisis develops. This, in highly simplified terms, was one of the mechanisms that precipitated the 1981-82 auction slump.

There can be no doubt about the determination of Taubman to regain the ground that Sotheby's lost to Christie's. The giant stride forward that has already been taken has, on his own admission, nothing to do with him, since he has not really played a role in Sotheby's decisions so far.

He will be tempted to leave his mark. But Christie's shrewd chairman, John Floyd, will not want to lose all of his firm's newly won positions in the United States and with the English establishment.

Neither can afford to raise the stakes very much, because the art market is so fragile.

Berlin to Get a Watteau

The Associated Press

BERLIN — For the second time in a month, the West German government and private donors have raised a multi-million-dollar sum to purchase an art treasure threatened with sale abroad.

Hermann Josef Abs, retired chairman of Deutsche Bank, announced that 15 million Deutsche marks (\$5.45 million) has been pledged to buy the 18th-century oil painting, "The Embarkation for Cythera," by the French artist Jean-Antoine Watteau.

Abs had also coordinated public and private donations for purchasing the 12th-century hand-written "Gospels of Heinrich the Lion" at a London auction Dec. 6.

The rococo-style oil painting, which will now remain in German hands, is on display at West Berlin's Charlottenburg Palace gallery, on loan from Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia.

The heir to the now-defunct Prussian throne shocked West Berlin's cultural community by announcing his intention to sell the painting. The money, he said, was needed to finance renovation of a family castle, the Hohenzollernburg, in the Black Forest.

The West German government and the city of West Berlin agreed to contribute 10 million marks (\$3.63 million) toward the purchase price, if private contributors could come up with the remainder.

Abs said private contributors, whom he did not identify, had pledged the necessary sums by Christmas Eve. He said the consortium would now complete negotiations with the prince to preserve the painting for West Berlin.

£12,500 Literary Prize Set for British Writers

The Associated Press

LONDON — The first Betty Trask Awards, with a first prize of £12,500 (about \$18,000), will be presented in July, the Society of Authors announced.

Trask, a British romantic novelist who died last January aged 88, left £400,000 to the society to be used for prizes to British authors under 35 for their first romantic or traditional novel. The £10,000 Booker McConnell prize had previously been the most valuable prize on the British literary scene.

Nam June Paik's TV Answer to George Orwell

By Grace Glucke
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In his cautionary novel "1984" George Orwell wasn't kind to television. He saw it basically as a tool of the totalitarian state. But Sunday — the very first day of that prophetic year — his view will be roughly challenged by the Korean-born video artist and impresario, Nam June Paik. "Good Morning, Mr. Orwell," a live satellite-relayed program to appear Sunday on public-television stations in the United States and on FR3 in France (WDR in Cologne is contributing taped material and will transmit the program live in West Germany), is Paik's pitch for television as an instrument for international understanding, rather than an ominous means of thought control.

Paik's claim that his work is "the first global

interactive use of the satellite among international artists" needs a little explaining. Other video artists, such as Doug Davis, have employed satellite transmission, but the Paik venture is larger and more complex. And while commercial television has linked different parts of the world for informational purposes, Paik is using works designed specifically for the technology of the satellite itself to create interactive performances, linking different stages in different parts of the world, so to speak.

"Good Morning, Mr. Orwell" is essentially a global variety show, originating in the United States, France and West Germany, but its line-up of performing talent will be more familiar to Paik's avant-garde followers than to fans of network television. And while the program does not directly address Orwell's philosophy, Paik believes that in presenting established and new young talent from both sides of the Atlantic, it will "celebrate the positive side of the medium."

Among those who will appear, live or on tape, are the rock singers Laurie Anderson and Peter Gabriel belting out the title song (composed and recorded by them especially for the broadcast); the choreographer Merce Cunningham and the composer John Cage in New York on a split screen improvising to Salvador Dali reciting a poem (on tape), beamed from West Germany; the artist Joseph Beuys playing the piano, live from the Pompidou Center in Paris; the poets Allen Ginsberg and Peter Orlovsky singing one of their compositions; a group of 80 French saxophone players and vocalists known as Urban Sax; and Charlotte Moorman, a cellist famed for playing Paik compositions dressed in almost nothing. (She'll be fully clad for her satellite debut.) Laughs — it is hoped — will be provided by interludes with the comedians Mitchell Krigman and Leslie Fuller, both formerly of "Saturday Night Live." And viewers will also witness a world television premiere: "Act III," a film stretching the boundaries of electronic graphic display by Dean Winkler and John Sanborn with music by Philip Glass.

Now 51, Paik still looks, with rumpled clothes and tousled hair, very much the whiz kid who first came to the attention of the art world as a

video innovator in the 1960s. "I never read Orwell's book — it's boring," he said recently. "But he was the first media communications prophet. Orwell portrayed television as a negative medium, useful to dictators for one-way communication. Of course, he was half-right. Television is still a repressive medium. It controls you in many ways. You tend to adapt your schedule to it, and also you get from it stereotyped images. But I want to show its potential for interaction, its possibilities as a medium for peace and global understanding. It can spread out, cross international borders, provide liberating information, maybe eventually punch a hole in the Iron Curtain."

Cutting back and forth from Europe to the United States, the show will have two hosts: the writer George Plimpton in New York, and Claude Villers, a popular television master of ceremonies in Paris. (Plimpton will not be seen by European viewers; nor will Villers be seen in the United States.)

Paik, who does not appear on the program, will direct its production in France, and Emilio Ardolino, the film, stage and television director, will be at the helm in New York for WNET.

The idea for "Good Morning, Mr. Orwell" came out of the Paik retrospective at the Whitney Museum in 1982, the largest show ever devoted to a video artist. "But the Whitney show did only half the job," Paik said. "I thought, under one roof, video has only a vertical axis, yet it's really horizontal, in that it spreads all over and you can do a lot of things in different locations at the same time. That's the most interesting part of it. We got onto Orwell because 1984 was coming up."

Asked how video art, with its small current audience, would help in improving the larger television picture, Paik had an answer at the ready.

"If you combined all the printed media today the market share of the good stuff would be small, but very influential. We think video can be comparable to the best of the printed media, and can be just as influential. After all, it was 300 years before the invention of the printing press and Shakespeare. Give us a little time."



Nam June Paik: The book? "Boring."

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House Sales Rose 0.5% in November

The Associated Press
WASHINGTON — U.S. sales of new single-family houses rose a slight 0.5 percent in November, apparently holding steady after recouping summer losses attributed to higher interest rates, government figures showed today.

New houses were sold at an annual rate of 638,000 last month, compared with a revised 635,000 in October, the report from the Commerce Department and the Department of Housing and Urban Development said.

The report showed the advance for October had been smaller than earlier thought, at 6.4 percent instead of a previously reported 8.2 percent.

After a three-month slide attributed to higher interest rates, sales picked up substantially in September and October. The slight advance in November appeared to confirm economists' predictions that housing sales and construction were stabilizing with a small drop in mortgage interest rates.

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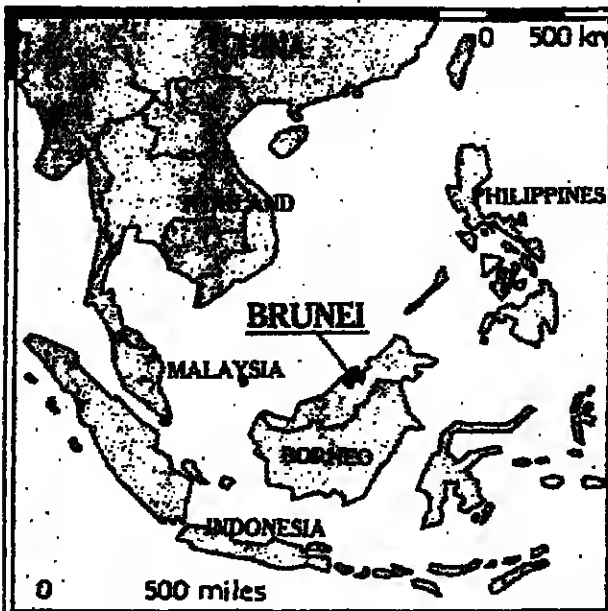
A SPECIAL REPORT

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1983 - SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1984

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The royal barge at the Omar Ali Saifuddin mosque.



Brunei Becomes Nation After 20-Year Delay

By Sheila Daniel

BRUNEI, the world's 169th sovereign nation, will be born on Jan. 1, a small but healthy infant.

For Brunei, an Islamic sultanate that became a British protectorate in 1888 and a self-governing entity since 1959, the transformation ends nearly a century of British guidance. In practical terms, full independence means that the country will now assume responsibility for its own defense and foreign affairs, the only two responsibilities that had been left to Britain.

No flags will be raised or lowered; the Union Jack flies only over the office of the British High Commissioner.

Formalities will be confined to a religious ceremony at the central mosque and a reading of a declaration of the new status by the sultan, Sir Hassanal Bolkiah, to those gathered on a parade ground in the center of the capital. Further celebrations are saved for Brunei's new national day, Feb. 23.

Unlike many other new nations that have emerged since World War II, Brunei was less than eager to sever its ties with London. With Britain representing it overseas, the oil-rich state was able to concentrate on the economy.

Current reserves, entirely from oil and gas revenues earned by Brunei Shell Petroleum Co., are estimated to be at least \$12.8 billion.

Brunei, a country about twice the size of Luxembourg, has a population of slightly more than 200,000. About 75 percent of the people are citizens.

Britain has been seeking to make Brunei independent for two decades, and officials in Bandar gradually had assumed increasing responsibility. In 1979, the sultan and his father, who had retired as sultan 12 years earlier, agreed to become fully independent after a five-year transition.

The delay, according to acting Chief Minister Pehin Abdul Aziz, was "a question of gaining more years of experience." In 1964, he said, "we only had three university graduates in Brunei. What could we do? Now we have 600. We can sleep a bit better. We've also built up our infrastructure."

In the early 1960s, Brunei's former sultan passed up a chance to join in the newly forming Federation of Malaysia. At the time, the region was shaky politically and economically. Malaysia was opposed by Indonesia and the Philippines, and there were fears that the countries might go to war. In 1962 in Brunei, there was a rebellion against the sultan, put down by British Gurkhas rushed in from Singapore. The revolt was widely believed to have been instigated by Indonesia.

Now, however, Brunei is about to join its neighbors in the regional alliance, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. It also is expected to seek entry to the United Nations and other international organizations.

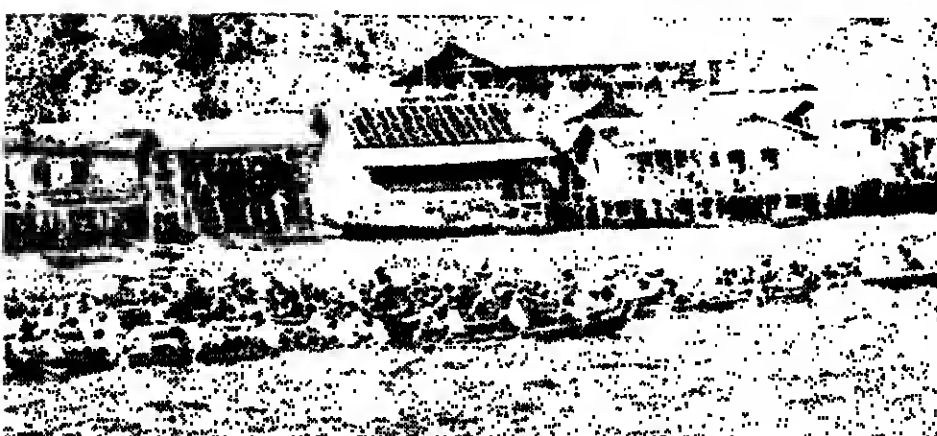
Eleven foreign missions either have opened or will open soon in Bandar. The head of one of them assessed the impact of independence this way: "The attitude is, 'we wouldn't have suggested it, but now that it's going to happen, it's OK.'"

The change is forcing Bruneians to look beyond their borders. "A few

(Continued on Next Page)



Selling the morning's catch of shellfish and fish.



In Brunei, a celebration means a regatta.

A Gross Domestic Product of \$4 Billion, No Debts or Deficit

MOST EMERGING nations have to scramble for international aid to keep afloat, but Brunei's biggest problem is figuring out what to do with its cash. This tiny country has no debt, no trade deficit, no balance-of-payments crunch.

What it does have is a gross domestic product estimated at \$4 billion this year and an average annual per-capita income of \$19,500, the highest in the Orient and one of the highest in the world.

With estimated foreign reserves of \$12.8 billion, Brunei acts as a magnet for financial institutions. The

Sheraton Utama Hotel, the capital's finest, is filled with commercial bankers from the West, all hoping for a piece of the action. They stand virtually no chance of getting it, since the nine banks currently operating in Brunei already constitute something of a banking glut.

Brunei welcomes all inquiries, however, and the acting chief minister, Pehin Abdul Aziz Umar, said he tries to meet with all banking representatives. "We may need them someday," he reasoned. "In the meantime, they can enrich our knowledge, like a dictionary. Any time we need their expertise, we'll be able to call on them."

In possibly the most dramatic example of its stride toward independence, the country recently set up the Brunei Investment Agency, which has taken over management of Brunei's investment funds from the British Crown Agents. One of its first acts was to appoint a new management team of Citibank and Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. along with two leading Japanese firms, Nomura Securities Co. and Daiwa Securities Co.

"The agency has made incredible progress," one local banker declared. "It has done better than anyone could have hoped for."

The sultanate's economy is a simple one. Oil and gas account for 98 percent of its exports and 78 percent of its gross domestic product, with the remainder coming from trade, financial institutions, construction and agriculture. Officials would like to widen the economic base, but diversification is easier discussed than accomplished.

The government's policy is cautious, designed to

(Continued on Next Page)



Manning an offshore oil rig.

Crown Agents: Will They Survive Loss?

By Tim McGirk

NOTHING brings out the best in the Crown Agents like a good hoopia. Before Brunei becomes independent on Dec. 31, the Crown Agents, who have answered the every need of Britain's colonies for the last 150 years, will have draped miles of yellow, black and white bunting around the palace in Bandar Seri Begawan. They will have sewn smart new insignia on the uniforms of the sultan's ceremonial guard, and

even designed postage stamps to commemorate the event.

But the service that matters most — managing the investments of Brunei — will no longer be performed by the Crown Agents. The loss of Brunei's \$3.5-billion (about \$5-billion) portfolio may lead the Thatcher government to shut down the Crown Agents. The organization is seen by critics as an expensive curio, by supporters as a Third World troubleshooter, able to gouge roads through Borneo's

jungle, track down a vaccine to fight spinal meningitis in Nigeria, or supply a spare washer for an ancient steam locomotive in the Hindu Kush.

The Crown Agents act as financial, professional and commercial agents for nearly 100 governments. By law, they are required to charge fees high enough to break even, but no higher. As former colonies were cast off from Britain in the 1950s, the agency attempted to

(Continued on Next Page)



Oil installations, above; below, a tanker loading.

From Imperial Riches To New Wealth of Oil

DESPITE ALMOST a century of British supervision, Brunei was never technically a colony of a Western power in the sense that Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines were.

Now just a sliver of the northern edge of Borneo, the sultanate once ruled the entire island and much of what is now the Philippines. Marco Polo reported in his journals that Kublai Khan had tried to capture Brunei and failed. In the next century, Islam spread to the region and the first sultan of Brunei was installed in 1368.

The country's golden age came in the 16th century when Sultan Bolkiah — an ancestor of the current ruler, Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah — extended his domain as far north as Manila. Visiting Europeans were in awe of Brunei's riches, telling of palace guards attired in gold and silk, their weapons studded with pearls and precious gems. Even into the 18th century, travelers marveled that ordinary kitchen utensils were made of gold.

But after the remnants of Magellan's fleet arrived in 1521, Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese conquerors began encroaching on the empire.

The British involvement with the sultanate began in the 19th century. From a base in Sarawak to the west, an English adventurer named James Brooke began in 1839 to peel away at the remaining territory of the Brunei sultans. Though Britain eventually colonized Sarawak and Sabah, to the east of Brunei, London's initial relations with the sultanate were on a sovereign-to-sovereign basis.

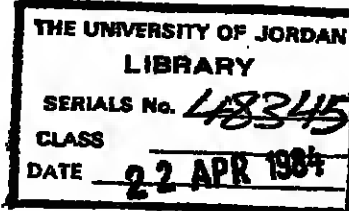
In 1888 Britain took Brunei under its wing as a protectorate. Still more of Brunei's territory was seized by a successor of Brooke, and in 1906 London sent a British resident to the Brunei court, halting any further takeovers.

For the next two decades, Brunei remained a backwater post, hardly noticed by the British or anyone else. That began to change in 1929, when Shell discovered oil near the western settlement of Seria. As the money flowed in, Brunei was able to offer generous social benefits and a comfortable standard of living to its citizens — and once again the rest of Asia started to regard Brunei with jealousy.

In 1941 the country was seized

(Continued on Next Page)

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Brunei Ceremonial Kris Knife

BRUNEI

Sultanate Becomes a Nation After 20-Year Delay

(Continued From Preceding Page)

The capital city's skyline is dominated by the golden dome of the Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin mosque and the new, sprawling Istana, or palace. But the streets are crowded with symbols of Western influence, most notably the traffic jams of new Japanese and German cars. Virtually every family has at least one. At last count, nearly 54,000 private cars were registered in the country.

One example of the new outward look came when the government earlier this year took control of its huge investment pool away from crown agents and handed it to a consortium of U.S. and Japanese money managers.

Electronic gadgets in store windows. But in a country in which many women observe traditional Islamic dress, girls are noticeably absent.

About half the city's 50,000 residents live in Kampong Ayer, a village on stilts built into the Brunei River. But whether home is a tin and wood shack in the Kampong or a high-rise apartment onshore, most people in Brunei can be found at night relaxing with a videotape recorder. Even in the Kampong, where the rustic homes nevertheless have running water and electricity, many homes are equipped with at least one TV, a stereo, modern kitchen appliances and washers and dryers.

The state has spread the oil wealth around. All citizens are entitled to free medical care and, if the local facilities cannot adequately deal with a problem, patients are sent with their families overseas without charge. A 500-bed hospital has just been completed.

School is free. A local university is planned. For now, students who qualify for university training are sent abroad with all expenses paid by the state.

Housing loans carry an interest rate of 5 percent. Most government workers are eligible for interest-free car loans. Those who live on the water qualify for low interest outdoor motor loans.

Stipends are given for a trip to Mecca, and many civil servants also are entitled to a free trip to England once in their careers. Electricity, water, gasoline and many food items, including rice, are subsidized.

Wages are good in comparison with neighboring states and, with government aid, most Bruneians can live well on their salaries. There is no personal income tax. The minimum wage for laborers is about \$6-a-day, but a high school graduate can go to work for the government at \$250 a month and

work up to a mid-level position earning as much as \$700 monthly. Workers are eligible to retire at age 35 or after 30 years of service and are entitled to generous lifetime benefits.

There are 31,000 government employees, more than two-thirds of the local work force. The agriculture department has a staff of 2,000, although Brunei has only a few dozen farmers. The government is trying to stimulate the agriculture industry.

Some top officials worry that things may be a little too soft. "The danger is that people get used to the idea of being spoon-fed," a department head said. "They're used to the easy life and never have to work hard."

The government has begun a campaign to encourage the majority Malay population to take a more active interest in private business, long the preserve of the large Chinese immigrant population. Authorities are also urging young people to pursue advanced technical training to prepare them for careers in private enterprise, especially the oil and gas industry which ethnic Malays have traditionally shunned.

The Brunei economy depends heavily on the work of about 25,000 expatriate technicians and laborers and is likely to continue to do so until the current generation of secondary school and college students — more than 2,000 youngsters are currently studying abroad — complete their education.

At Brunei Shell Petroleum two of the top 100 management personnel are ethnic Malay citizens. The company is trying to hire more residents who are college graduates.

The 4,000-man military force is largely Malay, but it is commanded by a Briton and has 150 officers on loan from the British military. Their main function is to train Bruneians to operate and service a sophisticated arsenal.

About one-fourth of the 1983 government budget of \$1.04 billion was devoted to security and defense spending. The armed forces are equipped with some high-tech weaponry, including Exocet missiles installed along with 30 mm cannons on three gunboats, a squadron of 16 Scorpion light tanks, a battery of Rapier air defense missiles, and several modern helicopters.

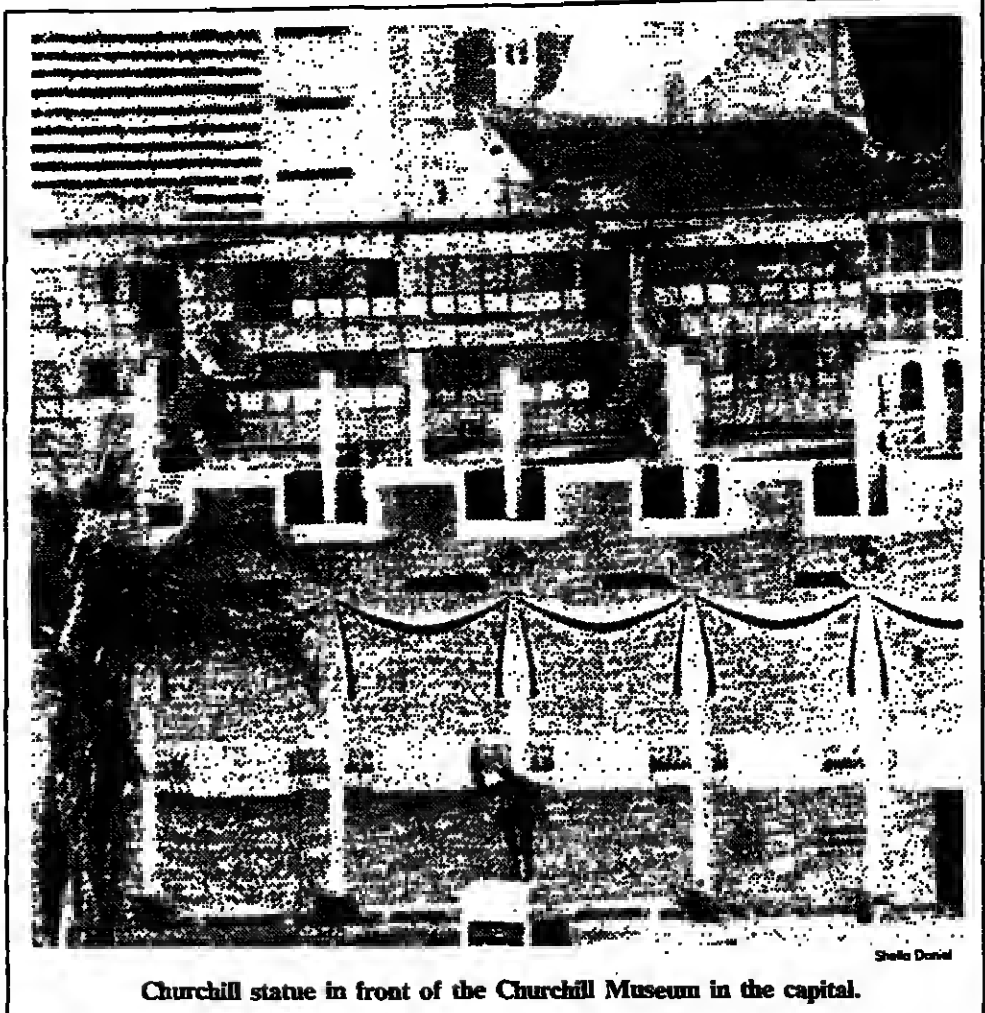
Military officials say Brunei is calm internally and enjoys harmonious relations with its neighbors. However, Vietnam is only 530 miles (850 kilometers) across the South China Sea, and Ho Chi Minh City is the closest major metropolis to Brunei.

"The threat in the short term is low," said Brigadier John Friedberger, commander of the Brunei Malay regiment. "Internally, the country is peaceful, and externally the neighbors are friends. In the longer term, all sorts of things could happen. It's our duty to have a defense force."

After independence, residents will continue to have reminders of their British legacy. Among them is a two-story museum dedicated to the memory of Sir Winston Churchill. Built in 1965 by then Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin, the museum houses what is believed to be the largest collection of Churchill memorabilia outside Britain. Churchill was never known to have visited Brunei.

A larger than life statue of Sir Winston, with cigar in mouth and right hand clenched in the characteristic "V" for victory sign, is in front of the museum. It is the only statue or monument in the city.

Near the door is an inscription that makes the sultan's intentions clear. It reads: "His highness, the sultan of Brunei, commissioned this memorial exhibition as an inspiration and a challenge to the youth of today and tomorrow."



Churchill statue in front of the Churchill Museum in the capital.



The daily market in Bandar.

Crown Agents: Future in Doubt

(Continued From Preceding Page)

diversity into such profitable ventures as real estate. But the effort lost £212 million in 1974 when the British property market collapsed.

Slowly, the Crown Agents began pulling themselves out of debt by providing investment and financial advice to more than 300 agencies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Their clients range in size from Nigeria and Canada to Pitcairn Island. Brunei's oil revenues, however, amounted to 70 percent of the capital managed by the agents.

Alan Frood, the managing director of the Crown Agents, said Brunei advised his organization well in advance that it intended to exert more control over its investments as independence approached. "Our relationship with Brunei has always been friendly. For several years we have known that the Brunei government wished to set up its own investment office," he said.

Still, when the news came — as a short telex message in June from Brunei's chief minister — it was a shock. The agency's chairman, Sir Sidney Eburne, had been in Brunei a week before and had not been informed of the impending loss of the account. Soon after the announcement, officials from Brunei and representatives from Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. and Citibank — which took over the portfolio previously managed by the Crown Agents — came to London to explain the transfer. The new Brunei investment office had hired Morgan and Citibank on an "interim" basis only, the officials said, but

their decision to switch to the U.S. banks clearly stung the agents.

This was compounded by reports from New York that the banks would earn fees of £20 million annually, four times more than the agents' take.

Two London investment houses, James Capel and Morgan Grenfell, had been managing smaller shares of Brunei's investments, and there was no sign that they had outperformed the Crown Agents. Mr. Frood said Brunei simply wanted to assert financial independence from its old colonial master. "This business of running one's own show is strongly nationalistic," he said.

Without Brunei, the agents found themselves unable to pay back nearly £35 million in loans due in 1983. Peter Graham, a senior deputy chairman of the Standard Chartered merchant bank who took over from Sir Sidney in August, appealed to Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary, in early November to allow the debt to be rescheduled.

But there was pressure coming from the Foreign Office and the Treasury to close down the Crown Agents. Under this plan, the Foreign Office would take over the agency's development projects, while the job of advising former colonies on their financial affairs would be tossed to the hungry bankers of London. The Thatcher government was particularly incensed by press reports that civil servants who were left without work after the Brunei contract was lost had been told to stay at home until further notice while continuing to collect their £25,000-a-year salaries.

Mr. Graham went about selling his survival plan for the Crown Agents with merchant-banker zest. He told Sir Geoffrey and Timothy Raison, the minister for overseas development to whom the Crown Agents were directly responsible, that the institution could be turning a profit by 1986. He proposed cutting its staff to about 800 — there were 2,200 on the payroll in 1979 — and selling off its headquarters in Millbank, two doors down from Westminster Abbey, to pay off outstanding debts.

Mr. Graham saved his strongest bargaining point for last. It would cost almost 540 million to close down the Crown Agents, he said, and if they persisted, another £140 million would be lost as well. This was the value of orders the Crown Agents had subcontracted in the 1982-83 fiscal year to British firms, mostly companies too small to sell their goods and services overseas without an intermediary.

Not all the Crown Agents' subcontractors are British, though. To survive, the Crown Agents have had to shed their colonial image, putting their clients, or "principals," ahead of 10 Downing Street. Buy British, the Crown Agents will say, but only if it is the best.

There is a regular pattern, Mr. Frood said. "Our former principals will try subcontracting on their own, and once they realize we do it better and cheaper, they switch back." The Crown Agents hope that Brunei will follow the pattern — and that they will still be in business when that time comes.



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"MERDEKA BERDAULAT"



Brunei Shell Petroleum Company Limited
Brunei LNG Limited
Brunei Coldgas Limited
Brunei Shell Marketing Company Limited

\$4-Billion GDP and No Debts

(Continued From Preceding Page)

develop at a moderate pace and avoid the mistakes of overexpansion made by other oil-producing states. Its 1983 budget of \$1.04 billion represented a 22-percent leap over the previous year, but it included \$279 million for development projects deemed necessary with the coming of full independence.

John Lee, the former state financial officer, pointed out in his 1983 budget address that the increase in spending was not a problem, since revenue was 165 percent greater than expenditures. But he warned that a year earlier that difference was 275 percent; the reduction reflected lower world prices for energy and Brunei's decision to cut back oil production.

The government will not say how long it expects the energy reserves to last, but some unofficial estimates put the end early in the next century. Accordingly, the current five-year economic plan is aimed at diversifying the economy through agricultural and industrial development.

Brunei does have some potential for agriculture, although only 20 percent of its 2,226 square miles (5,764 square kilometers) is arable. But government plans to lure people back to farms have largely failed because more lucrative jobs are available. The country has estimated reserves of 20 million tons of high-grade silica, but officials have decided to leave the resource untouched until the money is needed. Tax concessions have been offered to encourage investment in fertilizer

and petrochemical projects, but so far there have been no takers.

The chief reason for the development gap is found in simple arithmetic. Half of Brunei's 205,000 people are under 21. The labor force of 70,000 includes 25,000 foreigners. Of the remaining working residents, nearly seven out of 10 are on the government payroll.

Expatriates control most of the banking and financial institutions, while trade and commerce are largely in the hands of the Chinese community, few of whom hold citizenship.

It is these two areas that worry officials the most. Increasingly, they are encouraging the native Malay citizens to participate more actively in the private sector. To stimulate involvement, the government is concentrating on educating its young people. This year, it budgeted \$13 million to build new schools. There are no colleges yet, but the government pays the tuition, fees and housing for all qualified youngsters who go to a university overseas. According to Mr. Aziz, the acting chief minister, Brunei now has 600 university graduates. More than 2,000 students are currently studying abroad, most of them in Britain. Still, Mr. Aziz is worried.

"That's nowhere near enough for the next five, seven, 10 years," he said. "We have very few local lawyers or economists or doctors, although we do have about 50 engineers. Education is costly, but we have no choice but to develop our manpower."

A Long History of Wealth

(Continued From Preceding Page)

for the first time under the new constitution and the overwhelming winner was the radical Brunei People's Party. The sultan blocked the new legislative council from meeting, however. Within months, the party staged an armed revolt against the sultan. British troops, airlifted from Singapore, crushed the rebellion, which was widely believed to have been supported by Indonesia. At the time, Jakarta was vehemently opposed to the Malaysian federation and was known to have designs on the Borneo-based sultanates.

The sultan, Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin, allowed a constitution to be written but retained absolute authority. In the early 1960s, he considered joining other previously British-controlled sultanates in the federation of Malaysia, but he backed out in an apparent dispute over Kuala Lumpur's designs on his wealth. Instead, he chose to remain under British tutelage until Brunei could stand on its own.

In 1962, the importance of that British connection became clear. Parliamentary elections were held

and the British retained control of foreign affairs and served as a consultant for defense. That arrangement was

frowned upon by Indonesia and Malaysia, which continued to call in the United Nations for free elections and a final cut of ties to London. At the time, British diplomats pleaded that the problem was not that Brunei wanted them to leave, but that Brunei would not give Britain its freedom.

The dilemma was solved by a 1979 treaty, which stipulated that Brunei would become a fully independent entity after a five-year transition period.

"People are finally beginning to realize the wisdom of our joining off independence," one influential Bruneian said recently. "We've broken all the rules, but are going into 1984 considerably better prepared than most developing countries. We bought time — and used it. So what you are seeing now is not the birth of a nation, but the birth of a sovereign state."

ملكو من الاموال

BRUNEI

Agriculture: Wealth Slows Development

TRADITIONALLY a nation of farmers and fishermen, Brunei, through oil wealth, has turned into a country that sends out for its supper. Fish abound in the rivers and the South China Sea, but Brunei imports more than half of its seafood, and virtually all of its rice comes from Thailand.

The government has gone to considerable lengths to restore local food production, but the effort to lure people back to their plows has largely been a failure.

"If this trend is not checked, we might not be getting anybody interested in agriculture in five years' time," said Daniel bin Hanafiah, the director of the agriculture department. "We've been trying to get people to grow rice for 10 years, giving 50-percent subsidies for fertilizers and the costs of land preparation, a 100-percent subsidy for pesticides. And advice is always free. But the economy is so good that nobody wants to invest in growing food."

Such disinterest has not deterred the government. In 1983, the agriculture department had a \$6-million budget and 2,000 employees, even though officials acknowledge there are no more than a few dozen full-time farmers left in the country. According to Mr. Daniel, the long-term goal of this heavy spending is to return the country to self-sufficiency in rice, meat, vegetables and fruit.

Brunei has been importing Thai rice for two decades. In 1982, the government bought 18,000 tons and sold it at a highly subsidized retail price of 19 cents a pound (454 grams). Meanwhile, it spent \$1 million in the last year alone to stimulate local rice production.

Despite such heavy spending, the government has planted only 700 acres (282 hectares) itself. Another 1,000 acres are being cultivated by farmers who work paddies on weekends to feed their families. Self-sufficiency, according to official calculations, would require at least 10,000 acres producing two crops a year.

For the last few years the government has been offering a two-year course at an agricultural training

CONTRIBUTORS

SHEILA DANIEL, who contributed all but one of the articles to this report, is a Bangkok-based journalist who follows economic and political affairs in Southeast Asia. TIM MCGIRK, a London-based financial journalist, is a contributing editor to the magazine *Euromoney*.



Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah



The sultan playing polo.

Reluctant Monarch Develops a Keen Interest in State Affairs

SIR MUDA HASSANAL BOLKIAH, Brunei's ruler, came to his throne with great reluctance. He was studying at Britain's Sandhurst Royal Military Academy in 1967 when Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin abruptly decided to abdicate in favor of his eldest son. The 21-year-old had just begun to discover his passion for military studies and had developed into a favorite with fellow cadets and teachers. Friends say that his recall to Brunei came as a shock.

"I am happy but sad," Sir Hassanal acknowledged when he was installed as sultan on Oct. 5, 1967. "I am young and inexperienced; however, I have full faith in my father and the [royal] council, and hope to receive their constant advice."

In the years since, the sultan has proved to be a

keen student of his father, who is known as the architect of modern Brunei. He is a frequent visitor to government offices and makes final decisions on both major policy matters and minor civil service reassignments.

As the 29th sovereign in an unbroken family line, the sultan represents one of the oldest monarchies in the world. While royalty in the West have come to be objects of curiosity or even ridicule, this Islamic state still views its leaders with reverence.

"People often misunderstand our feelings," one Bruneian official said. "Malays don't normally show emotion openly. It's a relation of respect rather than shouting to a leader like a politician. When Queen Elizabeth came here, there was a hushed silence — as a sign of respect."

The sultan spends his mornings with family and friends, and at 11 A.M. begins the work day — signing documents, meeting with officials and consulting aides. His father serves as an adviser, as do the sultan's brothers, Mohamed, Sufri and Jefri.

After the work is done, Bruneians may spot their monarch in traffic; he generally is accompanied by motorcycle escorts only for official functions. More often than not, he will be on his way to the country club for a game of polo.

Trained as a helicopter pilot at Sandhurst, Sir Hassanal takes a great interest in the military and has equipped the Royal Brunei Malay Regiment with sophisticated weaponry such as Rapier and Exocet missiles. During a recent exercise, the sul-

tan flew his Sikorsky to the mock battleground, learned to operate a new Scorpion tank and promptly demolished his targets.

The sultan spends quieter moments with his family — he has two sons and five daughters — and his closest friends, who are mostly his brothers and foreign polo players.

Lately though, Sir Hassanal has had few opportunities for leisure. With the coming of independence, there are government offices to be built, a \$300-million palace to be completed, diplomatic relations to be cemented.

The sultan wants all these things done smoothly so Brunei can enter the community of nations with quiet grace.

Shell and the Government Maintain an Efficient Partnership

PEOPLE in Brunei cringe when outsiders refer to their nation as a "company country," or the "Shell-fare state." But Brunei's balance sheet shows that the economy runs solely on the oil and gas industry, and the oil and gas industry is Shell, the British-Dutch energy giant.

In the early 1900s, several oil companies were exploring in Brunei. All but Shell dropped out empty-handed. In 1929, Shell finally landed a gusher in the southwest part of the country. Progress was slow at first, with only 17,000 barrels a day pumped from the Seria field by the time the Japanese invaded Borneo in World War II.

After extensive damage was repaired following the war, Shell stepped up its explorations, moving offshore in 1956 and striking both oil and gas in 1963.

Today, Brunei produces 175,000

barrels of oil a day, purposely down from a 1980 high of 240,000 barrels. The sultanate is also one of the world's leading exporters of natural gas, sending 5 million metric tons to Japan annually. Altogether, energy exports last year earned Brunei about \$3.76 billion.

A partnership between the government and the company has kept the money pouring in smoothly. In 1973, at Shell's coaxing, the government took a 25-percent share of the equity in Brunei Shell Petroleum Co., increasing its holdings to 50 percent two years later. Four government representatives sit on the eight-member board of directors; Shell, possessing most of the technical know-how, still runs the day-to-day operations.

The government and Shell are also partners, along with Japan's Mitsubishi Corp., in Brunei LNG

Ltd., which was established in 1969 to buy gas brought onshore by Brunei Shell. The concern cools and benefits the gas in a plant that was the world's largest when it was built in 1972. The three partners also own another firm, Brunei Coldgas Ltd., which ships the gas to Japan.

Shell and the Brunei government are also 50-50 partners in Brunei Shell Marketing Co., which services the domestic market with energy products.

Peter Everett, Brunei Shell's managing director, admits to some unease about running the only significant industry in the country. "The political side of it gives us some concern," he said in an interview. Since the early 1970s, Brunei Shell has been trying to bring more of Brunei's Malay citizens into the operation, but until recently the government was not helping to

push the effort. The government, in effect, was competing with the oil industry in the small labor market. There are only about 130,000 Malay citizens in the country, and more than half are too young to work.

"Brunei is a small country trying to run a government administration, an army, a police force and an oil company," said Mr. Everett. "The pool we're fishing in is very small. Despite pay scales that exceed government salaries, Shell still has trouble recruiting talent from the civil service. Being a government department head has much more status in Brunei than working for us."

Other inhibiting factors are the geography and the cultural makeup of the country. Most Malays prefer to live in the northeastern area around the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan. Residents in the south-

west near Seria and Shell's operations tend to be expatriates and Chinese immigrants, few of whom hold citizenship.

Seria is almost a foreign country, Mr. Everett admitted. "We have a hard time convincing Brunei Malays to come down here, because you can live here and not think you're in a Malay state. They even call this area 'Little England.'"

The notion of Bruneians taking over the oil business soon is "pie in the sky," he acknowledged. Only two of the top 100 management personnel at Brunei Shell are ethnic Malay citizens of the sultanate. Out of 900 senior staff members, only 120 are citizens. But the company is sending about 30 students a year overseas on scholarships, hoping to bring them into the corporate fold when they return with their university degrees.

At times, Mr. Everett admitted, decisions by Brunei Shell's board have been based on the government's political goals more than on cost-efficiency.

For example, at the government's insistence, Brunei Shell recently completed a \$32-million oil refinery that can process 10,000 barrels a day, about what is needed for domestic consumption. Shell believed it would have been cheaper for Brunei to continue to purchase its refined products from larger, more efficient refineries in Singapore, but they went along with the government's desire to be more self-sufficient.

"Shell's view of Brunei is that the company is here for the long term," said Mr. Everett, serving his third tour of duty in Brunei for Shell. "We'll be here as long as they want us."

The Management and Staff of Bank Brunei rejoice with the Government of His Majesty The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Brunei Darussalam and Her People on the Sovereign Independence Day of Negara Brunei Darussalam on 1st January 1984.

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No Debts

process, but so far there have been no debts.

the development gap is found in the 114,000 Brunei's 205,000 people. The 114,000 includes 25,000 returning working residents, only 10,000 of whom are on the government payroll.

the cost of the parking and financial services and commerce are largely covered by the government.

Health

shared upon by Indonesia and Malaysia, which continued to oil the United Nations for the oil. At the time, British diplomats claimed that the problem was not that Brunei wanted them to leave, but that Brunei would not give them its freedom.

The dilemma was solved by a 1963 treaty, which stipulated that Brunei would become a fully independent entity after a five-year transition period.

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Tables include the nationwide price

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Reviews

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The Global Overview

The Global Overview

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Reuters
MONTREAL

MONTRÉAL — Air Canada said Friday it will introduce a weekly, nonstop flight between Quebec City and Paris next summer. The government-owned airline said the service will operate between June 22 and Sept. 7.

SPORTS

Redskins: Castoffs Who Became Champs

By Thomas Boswell

WASHINGTON — For the first part, the Washington Redskins are the all-pros nobody wants, the castoffs who became champions.

Has any other National Football League champion been built to so large a degree with players who, before they arrived in Washington, had been either overlooked or judged worthless by NFL standards?

Football executives have a phrase for a player who has been released or put on waivers or, worst of all, never was drafted. They find such fellows "out on the street."

That's where the Redskins found nearly half their key players. Of the 49 on the current roster, 23 came on as free agents. That number is remarkable in itself, but not nearly as singular as the excellence of those bargain-basement players.

In the past two seasons, Mark Moseley, Joe Jacoby, Jeff Bostic, Mark Murphy and Mike Nelms have made all-pro or Pro Bowl teams and the Redskins have won 26 of 29 games. The Redskins brought all five off those free-agent streets. Jacoby and Bostic were not drafted; neither was Murphy.

In addition to 25 free agents, nine other current Redskins were so lightly regarded when they came out of college that they were not among the first 180 players picked in the NFL draft. Now they are preparing for Sunday's NFC semifinal game against the Los Angeles Rams.

In all, 32 Redskins, virtually two-thirds of the team, are players any team could have had but almost nobody wanted.

For comparison, the Cowboys have 26 players on their roster drafted in the first four rounds. The Redskins have nine.

Why were the Redskins attracted

to so many genuinely obscure players who did not prompt much interest around the NFL?

The key man to this project is General Manager Bobby Beathard, who says, "We try to be open-eyed."

Beathard maintains a healthy disrespect toward the procedures used by many other front-office wizards. "For instance, we don't pay too much attention to the grading done by the big scouting combines," he said. "Oh, we use their numbers [on a scale of 0.0 to 9.9] to eliminate suspects, but we try to look at a 4.0 as hard as an 8.0."

Actually, Beathard places little credence in the judgment of the three scouting combines — National, Blesio and Quadra. Beathard is convinced that he and key Redskins scouts like Charlie Casserly, Mike Allman, Dick Daniels and Kirk Moe can work harder and perhaps even see better than their peers. As a group, they are unconventional to the point of being daring and committed to the notion that much of the best football talent in America goes undiscovered.

"Players like [Clint] Didier and [Mel] Kaufman were graded so low that it's embarrassing to talk about it," said Beathard. "We used those players to work out the players we were really looking at."

"[Coach] Joe Gibbs went to scout Lomax in college and he needed somebody to run pass patterns," he said of a trip to look at St. Louis Cardinal quarterback Neil Lomax when he played for Portland State. "Didier just happened to be standing there. Joe came back and said, 'Let's draft this Didier as a sleeper.' Didier played in college at 205 as a wide receiver, but he came to our camp at 235 and we had a tight end with the speed to get open deep."

"[Coach] Joe Gibbs went to scout Lomax in college and he needed somebody to run pass patterns," he said of a trip to look at St. Louis Cardinal quarterback Neil Lomax when he played for Portland State. "Didier just happened to be standing there. Joe came back and said, 'Let's draft this Didier as a sleeper.' Didier played in college at 205 as a wide receiver, but he came to our camp at 235 and we had a tight end with the speed to get open deep."



Bobby Beathard
...you shouldn't doubt your eyes."

him, but there was nobody to cover him," Beathard said, recalling a trip to California. "This kid line-backer, who only weighed 203 pounds, was standing on the sideline so I called him over. By the time the workout was over, I was looking at him, not the running back. That was Mel Kaufman."

Even the Redskins, however, are willing to admit the large element of good luck in their current group of discoveries.

Casserly spotted and recommended Jacoby, the 300-pound tackle. "He was big, strong and smart, but we didn't think he could move his feet fast enough," said Beathard. "Nobody was excited about him. Certainly nobody thought he'd be great. He was somebody to work with in camp. But you can't measure desire, heart. He was a high-IQ kid who was a useless worker. Now, Jacoby is awesome."

Sometimes, it's not height, weight or a fast time in the 40-yard dash that are the critical qualities.

So, Beathard and company don't try to measure what can't be measured.

"There are what I call 'leverage players' who hit harder than they ought to be able to hit," he said. "They move bigger men out of their way. It's hard to explain, but when you see a player like that, you shouldn't doubt your eyes. Write down the name."

There are times Beathard wishes he could turn his eyes away from his draft selections. If the GM's obscure choices have been spectacular, his prestige picks have been a mixed bag.

Art Monk (1980), Mark May ('82) and Darrell Green ('83) are Beathard's No. 1 picks so far and all are starters. However, Carl Powell (No. 3 in '82) and Richard Williams (No. 2 in '83) never made it out of training camp. "We blew 'em both," said Beathard. "They never even left a ripple."

When Beathard arrived in Washington in 1978, he knew that, due largely to George Allen's trades, the team had not had a No. 1 draft pick since 1968 and wouldn't have one again until 1980.

"Before I came here, I had other chances. Friends told me, 'You better take a hard look before you go to Washington,'" said Beathard, who was instrumental in building excellent Miami Dolphins teams. "But I thought that [the absence of draft choices] would make it a more exciting challenge."

NFL Playoff Schedule

The following is the schedule for the playoffs — all times are EST — with the favorites in capital letters and the point spread from Sports Illustrated Sports Book in parentheses in parentheses:

Conference Semifinals
AFC Divisional Playoffs
Saturday, 12:30 p.m.: Seattle at Miami (favored by 7 1/2 points).
Sunday, 4 p.m.: Pittsburgh at Los Angeles Raiders (favored by 7 1/2 points).

NFC Divisional Playoffs
Saturday, 4 p.m.: Detroit at San Francisco (favored by 7 1/2 points).
Sunday, 12:30 p.m.: Los Angeles Rams at Washington (favored by 10 1/2 points).



The Associated Press

Soviet Team Defeats Canada, 4-2

Alexander Orlov of the Soviet All-Stars and Team Canada's Doug Lidster got their sticks crossed in battling for the puck during Thursday's game in Calgary, Alberta. The Soviet squad won, 4-2. Vladimir Lavrentiev scored the Soviets' first and last goals as the visitors put the game away with two unanswered goals in the third period. It was the second straight defeat for Canada's Olympic hockey during the 10-game series against the Soviet Union. Canada lost the opener, 3-4, on Tuesday.

U.S. Yacht Is Disqualified For Forcing Rival Aground

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HOBART, Australia — An international yacht racing jury Friday disqualified Nirvana, the line honors winner in the 39th annual Sydney-to-Hobart yacht race, after bearing a protest by second-placed Condor.

The disqualification, unprecedented in the history of the 630-nautical mile race, gave the coveted line honors trophy to Bob Bell, a Bermuda-based Englishman, for the second year in succession.

Bell said that he was disappointed to win in such a manner but he maintained that Nirvana deliberately forced his boat aground.

"It's much better to decide things like this on the race course," he said. "Unfortunately at this level of racing — and it's shown in the America's Cup often — these things do happen."

Nirvana's owner, Marvin Green of the United States, said: "Clearly I can't very well be happy with the decision. But on the other hand I'm accepting it."

Bell took line honors last year in his older maxi Condor of Bermuda by 7 seconds from the Australian maxi Apollo, which, following Nirvana's disqualification, finished second for the second straight year.

Sailing with Bell this year as

watch-captain was America's Cup skipper Ted Turner, who won this race 11 years ago in his own maxi American Eagle.

The protest ended an extraordinary match race between the two 24-meter yachts almost all the way from Sydney, with Condor more than two miles (3.2 kilometers) ahead throughout the three days of the race.

As the two yachts entered the Derwent River estuary running to Hobart, Nirvana surprised Condor by creeping close inshore and then grabbing the lead. A short time later Condor caught a shift in breeze and tried to repeat the maneuver off White Rock Point, an underwater projection six miles from the finish.

According to the jury, Condor had safely established an overlap on Nirvana and was moving faster. But when Condor hailed for water — a claim permitted under yacht racing rules — while holding a course to clear White Rock Point, Nirvana continued to hold a course closing on the shore.

When Condor hailed again, Nirvana started to pull away but Bell's yacht struck the bottom. Condor didn't have sufficient wind to clear the shore and her stopping caused a minor contact between the yachts after the grounding.

Five minutes later Bell's crew used a spinnaker pole to push the



Ted Turner...
...11 years, two victories.

24.4-meter boat clear, but that was too late to catch Nirvana.

Under international yacht racing rules the outside yacht, Nirvana, must give an overlapping yacht, Condor, room to pass a mark or an obstruction.

The jury found that Nirvana had failed to give Condor sufficient room and disqualified her from the race, an unfortunate end to Green's first trip to Australia with his reportedly \$5-million yacht.

Green is a member of the New York Yacht Club and to add injury to the situation the America's Cup, won last Sept. 26 by Australia II on Rhode Island Sound, is currently on display in the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart only a few hundred yards from where Nirvana and Condor are docked.

(UPI, Reuters)

Notre Dame Captures Liberty Bowl

By Peter Alfano

New York Times Service

MEMPHIS, Tennessee — Perhaps it was not the convincing type of victory that might have quieted the critics during the coming off-season, but it was a welcome victory nonetheless.

Relying on a power-running game and a strong defense, Notre Dame salvaged its football season Thursday night when it turned back a last-minute Boston College drive to win the 25th Liberty Bowl, 19-18.

Quarterback Doug Flutie had led Boston College to the Notre Dame 41-yard line with 3 minutes 8 seconds remaining.

"It's normal after what's happened to us this year, but I thought and expected something would go wrong," said Chris Smith, the Notre Dame fullback.

But Notre Dame held as a fourth-down pass from the 35 by Flutie fell incomplete with 1:04 left.

Playing on an icy field with the temperature falling to the low teens (around minus 11 centigrade), the Irish stayed mostly on the ground as the tailback Allen Pinkett gained 111 yards and Smith had 104.

Quarterback Blair Kiel, making his first start in eight games, directed three first-half scoring drives. Kiel, the Irish captain, completed 11 of 19 passes for 151 yards.

The difficult playing conditions affected both teams' kicking game. Notre Dame missed two

conversion kicks, and Boston College missed all three of its conversion tries, including a pair of 2-point passing attempts.

The victory enabled Notre Dame to finish with a 7-5 record; Boston College finished at 9-3.

"I know some people are going to say, 'we're really not that good,'" said Flutie, who was voted the game's outstanding player after completing 16 of 37 pass attempts for 287 yards, "but I think this game proved we are as good as any team in the nation."

Gerry Faust, the embattled Notre Dame coach, said in accepting the winning trophy: "This was my biggest victory here. No matter what would have happened I planned to be at Notre Dame two more years. But this has to help recruiting and relieve some of the pressure."

Rarely if ever, has a coach taken his team to a bowl with such negative reviews as has been the case with Faust.

In three seasons at Notre Dame, his teams have compiled an 18-15-1 record. This is far below the performance expected of what is arguably the nation's most glamorous college football program.

Yet, the Rev. Theodore M. Hes-

burgh, the president of Notre Dame, and the Rev. Edmund P. Joyce, the vice president and chairman of the athletic committee, have staunchly defended Faust and said they would honor the remaining two years of his contract despite the prevailing sentiment among the school's fans and alumni to replace him.

Father Joyce who hired Faust, was impressed with the coach's 174-17-2 record at Moeller High School in Cincinnati and with his enthusiasm for Notre Dame.

Faust is well-versed in the school's mystique and folklore, and his reputation as a highly principled, moral and religious man made him seem like the perfect coach for the image-conscious Irish.

Quoting Knute Rockne and extolling tradition, however, are considered only accessories to victory in South Bend, Ind. After three years, there is some question as to whether Faust can coach at the college level.

Faust has tried to retain an air of optimism in the face of criticism. "I honestly think we're on the verge of some awfully good things at Notre Dame," he said.

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE									
Team	W	L	Pct.	GB	Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Philadelphia	21	6	.778		San Antonio	12	20	.375	9
Boston	23	8	.742		Portland	11	19	.364	10
New York	19	13	.594		Phoenix	14	16	.467	6
Washington	14	18	.438		Golden State	14	16	.438	7
New Jersey	12	17	.413		Seattle	12	18	.400	8
CENTRAL DIVISION									
Atlanta	17	11	.607		San Diego	16	21	.432	10
Detroit	15	14	.517		Washington	12	22	.353	11
Chicago	15	15	.500		Portland	12	22	.353	12
Indiana	12	18	.400		San Antonio	12	22	.353	13
Philadelphia	7	20	.259		Seattle	12	22	.353	14
WESTERN CONFERENCE									
Utah	20	10	.667		San Antonio	12	22	.353	15
Dallas	16	13	.556		Seattle	12	22	.353	16
Kansas City	12	15	.444		Portland	12	22	.353	17

NHL Standings

WALE CONFERENCE							ADAMS DIVISION						
Patrick Division							Smythe Division						
Team	W	L	T	Pts.	GF	GA	Team	W	L	T	Pts.	GF	GA
NY Islanders	25	12	2	52	176	130	Chicago	15	20	3	33	127	147
Philadelphia	20	10	6	46	141	124	Toronto	14	18	5	33	154	177
NY Rangers	20	13	4	44	153	141	Detroit	12	20	4	30	134	157
Washington	17	19	2	36	139	127	San Jose	12	20	4	30	134	157
Pittsburgh	17	19	2	36	139	127	Edmonton	12	19	3	28	124	151
New Jersey	7	28	2	16	103	173	Vancouver	12	19	3	28	124	151
ADAMS DIVISION							Thurmond's Results						
Boston	24	10	3	50	144	107	Buffalo & Quebec	3	11	1	7	111	141
Buffalo	22	12	4	48	132	127	Peterborough	1	11	1	3	111	141
Quebec	20	15	3	43	137	121	Buffalo 11, Quebec 11, Ramsey 15, Seuling 18						
Montreal	17	18	2	36	127	121	Ruff 181: Seuling 171, M. Ramsey 11, Seuling 181						
Washington	12	23	2	26	125	145	Buffalo 11, Seuling 171, M. Ramsey 11, Seuling 181						
Hartford	13	19	2	29	125	145	Detroit & New Jersey 11, D'Amico 141, Ogramick 21 (22), Los Angeles 111, Yermann 1251, Du						
CAMPBELL CONFERENCE							Thurmond's Results						
Neddy Division							Thurmond's Results						
Minnesota	18	14	4	40	142	138	St. Louis 3, Toronto 11, Ramsay 171, Mauten 21						
St. Louis	15	19	4	34	148	161	St. Louis 3, Toronto 11, Ramsay 171, Mauten 21						

Transition

BASEBALL — American League — DETROIT — Signed Milt Wilcox, pitcher, to two-year contract.

BASEBALL — National League — ATLANTA — Signed Mark Lander, pitcher, to a 10-day contract.

FOOTBALL — National Football League — CINCINNATI — Signed Sam Wyche, head coach.

GREEN BAY — Signed George Seifert, offensive backfield coach.

TAMPA BAY — Signed Jim Odom, offensive coordinator.

UNITED STATES FOOTBALL LEAGUE — DENVER — Signed Jim Coyle, offensive line coach.

LOUISIANA STATE — Signed Ed Zborjan, offensive coordinator and offensive coach.

SPORTS BRIEFS

Oakland Scores Victory Over Raiders

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — The city of Oakland scored a major victory in its efforts to wrest the Raiders football team back from Los Angeles when a Court of Appeal said the city could press its eminent domain claims. Eminent domain is the right of governments to take private property for public use.

The court reversed a ruling last summer by Motere Superior Court Judge Nat Agliano blocking the takeover and declaring that the city did not have the legal right to keep the team in Oakland. The Raiders will appeal the ruling.

The appeal court sent the case back to Agliano, rejecting all five reasons he gave for ruling against Oakland and ordered him to rule on any remaining objections raised by the Raiders. If the objections are overruled, Oakland will be able to proceed with its arguments and the judge may have to revise his decision which left the football team in Los Angeles.

In an unusual litigation, Oakland sued the team under eminent domain laws, claiming the city had the power to "expropriate" the team and take it over in the public interest, just as a state would obtain land for a highway.

Tigers Sign Wilcox to New Contract

DETROIT (AP) — Pitcher Milt Wilcox, a starter for the Detroit Tigers for seven seasons, signed a two-year contract on Thursday with the American League club.

Wilcox, 33, became a free agent when his old contract expired at the end of last season. The Tigers, who re-signed reliever Doug Bair and infielder Darrell Evans earlier, now have reached their limit of three free agent signings. That means Detroit cannot re-sign veteran infielder Enos Cabell, who batted .311 for the Tigers last season.

Langer Wins Nordic Combined Event

BERLIN (AP) — Andreas Langer of East Germany won the 15-kilometer cross country race Friday to take the Nordic World Cup combination event in Oberwiesenthal. Alexander Prosvirnin of the Soviet Union was second, with East German Uwe Dotzauer third.

World Cup Skiing Event Transferred

BERN (Combined Dispatches) — A men's World Cup ski downhill race scheduled for Morzine, France, on Jan. 7 has been transferred to Laax, Switzerland, because of lack of snow. An International Ski Federation (FIS) official said Friday. A men's slalom event scheduled for the following day has been retained at Morzine for the time being, the official added.

Earlier a member of the French ski federation said in Paris that the Morzine races were in doubt because of lack of snow caused by warm temperatures, and that a final decision on whether or not to hold the event would be made on Sunday. The federation added that more warm weather could lead to a string of ski competition cancellations in France next month.

(Reuters, UPI)

Women's Sports in U.S. Is Facing a Crucial Test In Supreme Court Case

By Barbara Miner

United Press International

NEW YORK — One of the biggest challenges confronting women's sports in 1984 will unfold in the chambers of the U.S. Supreme Court, not on the basketball court or athletic field.

The court's decision — involving Title IX prohibitions against sex discrimination in schools receiving federal money — will have a significant impact on women's sports in the United States.

"If the Supreme Court were to rule the way the Reagan administration would like, most athletic programs would not be covered by Title IX," said Theresa Cusick of the Project on Equal Educational Rights of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund. "Schools could cut out the girls' athletic programs entirely."

Title IX, enacted by Congress as part of the Education Amendments of 1972, has helped set off an unprecedented growth in women's sports in high schools and colleges. And, women's sports activists stress, strong school athletics are essential to developing the talent and incentive for women's sports in general.

"When you look at where we were in 1972 and where we are today, I think there's no doubt Title IX has been extremely important," said Donna Lopiano, director of intercollegiate athletics for women at the University of Texas.

In 1972, for example, there were no colleges or universities offering athletic scholarships to women, according to the Washington-based Women's Equity Action League. Ten years later, 15,000 scholarships from more than 800 schools were made available to women, Women's Sports magazine reported.

In the high schools, the number of girls playing sports has increased from 7 percent to 35 percent of student athletes since Title IX was enacted, according to the Project on Equal Educational Rights in Washington. Women now account for about 30 percent of college-level athletes.

Title IX's value was that it coincided with the upsurge in women's interest in sports in the late 1960s and early 1970s due to the fitness boom and the women's movement.

But, women's sports activists warn, the law is now under attack. The Supreme Court case, Grove City College v. Bell, involves a small private college in Pennsylvania challenging the scope of Title IX. The school does not receive federal money but more than 20 percent of its students receive governmental aid.

The school has refused to file a certificate of compliance with Title IX, arguing it does not receive federal aid. The government says Grove City College benefits from the student aid and must obey Title IX regulations.

Last summer, the Reagan administration modified its stance on the case. While still arguing a certificate of compliance must be filed, it asked that Title IX be applied only to specific educational programs receiving direct federal aid.

The Reagan administration posi-

tion would allow schools to discriminate at will in athletics, warns Cusick. "Most of your extracurricular activities like sports don't receive federal aid," she notes.

Dozens of women's, educational and civil rights groups — plus at least 50 congressmen — have filed friend-of-the-court papers asking the Supreme Court to maintain a broad interpretation of Title IX and prohibit sex discrimination anywhere in a school receiving direct or indirect federal aid.

Hearings on the case were held in November and the justices are expected to decide the issue before their term ends in July.

Women's groups say they have strong congressional and popular support for their position. On Nov. 16, for example, the House passed, by a 414-8 vote, a resolution against any attempts to restrict Title IX's coverage.

